

THE  
ATHANASIAN CREED  
AND THE  
UTRECHT PSALTER.



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THE ATHANASIAN CREED IN CONNEXION  
WITH THE UTRECHT PSALTER,

BEING

A REPORT

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ROMILLY, MASTER OF THE ROLLS,

ON

A Manuscript

IN

THE UNIVERSITY OF UTRECHT.

BY

SIR THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L.,

DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

1872





MY LORD,

CONFORMABLY with your directions, I have the honour to report to your Lordship the result of my examination of the photographs of the manuscript containing the Athanasian and the Apostles Creed in the Psalter preserved in the library of the university at Utrecht. The subject has occupied my attention considerably longer than I had anticipated; but I was desirous of examining minutely, and precisely stating, the grounds on which I have arrived at my conclusions. I could have given my opinion that the MS. in question contained a Gallican Psalter written in the sixth century, without assigning arguments for my belief, leaving it to those who entertained a different opinion to give their reasons for their dissent; but I was sure that such a course would not be satisfactory to your Lordship, accustomed as you are to hear and decide upon impartial consideration of the evidence. I am fortunate in being able to lay before your Lordship the chief objections which have been urged against the age I assign to the Utrecht MS., at least so far as they have been communicated to me. There may be others with which I am not acquainted; but, if they are not more conclusive than those I have heard already, there will be no difficulty in refuting them.

Without entering more fully than I have done into all the Liturgical phases of the question, it was sufficient for me to show that the Utrecht MS., which contains both Creeds, is a Gallican Psalter, and was written in the sixth century. I have also shown that the Gallican Ritual was used in Britain before the arrival here of Augustine, but by whom the so-called Athanasian Creed was composed I have not ventured to give my opinion; though there is no doubt, in my own mind, that the "Fides Catholica," since called the Athanasian Creed, was acknowledged in the Gallican church long anterior to the composition of the Utrecht Psalter.

Your Lordship cannot fail to observe that I have occasionally repeated my remarks; but I have deemed it necessary to do so, in order to enforce my arguments.

Through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Rawdon Brown, of Venice, I have collected much interesting matter relating to the Venetian and other manuscripts, but this I postpone to a future occasion. What I shall have to communicate cannot fail, I think, of being very useful to those who are interested in the present discussion, and I shall take the earliest opportunity of laying the result of my researches before your Lordship.

I have the honour to be  
Your Lordship's most obedient and faithful servant,

To the Right Honourable  
The Lord Romilly,  
Master of the Rolls,  
Keeper General of the Public Records.

T. DUFFUS HARDY.





## REPORT.

THE ANTIQUITY, or, more correctly speaking, the authenticity, of the Athanasian Creed has been, for more than two centuries, the subject of grave discussion. From the time of Gerard Voss in 1642, to that of Oudin in 1722, no less than 32 distinguished scholars had carefully and conscientiously considered the matter, all of them arriving at different conclusions, which may be seen in Waterland's "Critical History of the Athanasian Creed," first published in 1728.

Discussions on the Athanasian Creed prior to the 18th century.

During the last two years the discussion has been renewed, and the Dean of Westminster, Canon Swainson, Professor Brewer, Mr. Ffoulkes, and others have publicly set forth their views on the controversy. Such being the case, it may reasonably be asked why I, a layman, should enter the list of disputants. I therefore deem it necessary to state that circumstances, over which I have no control, have compelled me to take part in the discussion; but I think it right to say at once that I have no intention of defending the Creed as a just exposition of the Christian Verity, or attempting to prove that it is the genuine composition of Athanasius bishop of Alexandria. I leave that task to theological and liturgical scholars. My object is much more simple; it is an endeavour to ascertain when the Creed in question first appeared, and by what name it was originally called, so far as these points can be determined on palæographical grounds.

Recent discussions.

Object of this report.

It is scarcely necessary to recapitulate the various arguments which were adduced by Waterland to determine the age of the Creed. It is sufficient to say that nearly all the thirty-two writers above referred to placed its composition in different years; the earliest in 336, the latest in 642; Waterland himself preferring a date between 426 and 430.

Dates hitherto assigned to the Creed.

The present controversy is somewhat different from that which engaged Waterland's attention. It has arisen out of the discussion on the advisableness of retaining the Creed in question in the Book of Common Prayer, prefaced by the Rubric as it now stands. On this point it is needless for me to express any opinion. The present controversialists widely differ as to the date to be assigned to the *Quicumque*. One party contends that it is the veritable composition of Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, who flourished in the fourth century; another, that it was not produced by Athanasius himself, but was compiled from his works by one of his followers, if not by a contemporary; and a third, that it is a forgery as late as the age of Charlemagne. It is this last assertion mainly that has aroused the present debate, which has now assumed the dimensions of national interest, I may say, of national importance, confining itself no longer to the closet of the theologian, but extending to the columns of the daily journals. I venture, therefore, to offer a very few remarks on each of these points, before I proceed to consider the palæographical question;—a subject alike interesting to myself and I believe to many others, and upon which I have, I hope, some qualifications to speak.

I am, I believe, correct in affirming that the Symbol—for it can scarcely be called a Creed—is not to be found among the numerous writings of Athanasius. In other words, not a single manuscript of his works has yet been discovered in which the Creed that bears his name is to be found. This Symbol is a composition too important in itself, as expounding the mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, to have been omitted had Athanasius really written it; I therefore think it may be admitted that it is not the veritable work of Athanasius; especially as the subject occupied the thoughts of his life, and he suffered

On the origin of its title.

Professor Brewer's publication on the subject.	persecution and exile for maintaining it. It must not, however, be denied that the different dogmas contained in the <i>Quicumque</i> may be found in the various writings of Athanasius. This is clearly shown by Professor Brewer in "The Athanasian Origin of the Athanasian Creed." Mr. Brewer, however, as I understand him, does not insist upon the Symbol, as it has come down to us, being received as the actual composition of the Bishop of Alexandria; although he expresses his own belief that it is so, and offers reasons for his opinion.
If not Athanasius, who was the author of the Symbol?	If no proof exists that the Symbol was written by Athanasius, we are then driven to inquire who was its author: and here I must confess that I am not inclined to adopt the suggestion of Waterland, and attribute its composition to Hilary bishop of Arles, between the years 426 and 430;* nor can I believe it to have been written by Vigilius Tapsensis, who flourished in the fifth century;—an opinion maintained by Quesnet, Heidegger, Cave, Dupin, Pagi, Oudin, and others.
Obscurity of its origin.	The time of its first appearance and its origin are enveloped in the deepest obscurity, from which it seems impossible to extricate it, with the scanty evidence that exists at present, or to arrive at any positive conclusion on the subject. It is therefore with great hesitation and diffidence that I venture to offer a conjecture as to the time and occasion of the first promulgation of the Symbol.
Athanasius a great champion of the mystery of the Trinity.	It is a matter of historical certainty that the first great champion of the mystery of the Trinity was Athanasius, who was more than once exiled for maintaining and defending it in the year 373. It is quite impossible that the seed which he had sown should have rotted and died. Indeed, we know for a certainty that it did not. Athanasius was scarcely dead, when the Emperor Gratian commanded Ambrose, afterwards archbishop of Milan, to compose for his instruction, and that of his son Theodosius, a theological treatise on the faith of the Trinity. Gratian's profound veneration for the Christian clergy had induced him to entrust the education of his son Theodosius to Ambrose, the most orthodox bishop of his empire. The fame of Theodosius has been the subject of much eloquence as the opponent of the Arian heresy. He was the first emperor baptized in the true faith of the Trinity, and received the initiatory rite from Acholius bishop of Thessalonica. His baptism had scarcely been accomplished when, to use the words of Gibbon, "Glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith and prescribed the religion of his subjects. 'It is our pleasure' (such is the Imperial style) that all the nations which are governed by our clemency and moderation should stedfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans; which faithful tradition has preserved; and which is now professed by the pontiff Damasus and by Peter bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the apostles and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians; and as we judge, that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics; and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellations of churches. Besides the condemnation of Divine justice, they must expect to suffer severe penalties, which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them.'" <sup>†</sup>
Edict of Theodosius.	
First royal or public recognition of the Trinity.	This edict of Theodosius, embodying the chief dogmas of the Creed ascribed to Athanasius,

\* Waterland argues that because the Athanasian Creed first appeared in the Gallican Psalters and was fully recognized by the Gallican councils, therefore the Creed was first composed in Gaul. He gives eight reasons for his persuasion, but they do not appear to me to be either conclusive or probable.

† Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. xxvii.



was the first royal recognition in public of the Mystery of the Trinity. That it was carried out to its fullest extent, is proved by the fact of Theodosius placing on the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople the celebrated Gregory Nazianzen, and expelling from all the churches of his dominions the bishops and their clergy who obstinately refused to believe, or at least to profess, the doctrine of the Council of Nicæa. Not content with this, Theodosius convened at Constantinople a Synod of one hundred and fifty bishops, who completed without much difficulty and delay the theological system which had been established in the Council of Nicæa. There a final and unanimous sentence was pronounced to ratify the equality of the Godhead of the Three Persons of the Trinity.

Gregory Nazianzen.

Sentence of the Synod of Constantinople on the Trinity.

It was then, on some such occasion as this, that I venture to suggest the germ\* of this Symbol of the Catholic faith was first sanctioned and promulgated.† I do not of course mean to aver that all the subtleties of the Creed were embodied in the Edict of Theodosius, but only that it was the basis upon which the Creed (since attributed to Athanasius) was established.‡ I may be wrong in my opinion, but I can perceive, or at any rate fancy I see, some grounds for my belief. The name of the compiler of the Symbol I do not venture to suggest, nor do I think that this is of much importance.

Basis of the Creed.

So much for the age, origin, and first outline of the Creed or Symbol.

The third theory, respecting the age and origin of the Symbol, has been advanced by Mr. Ffoulkes. He asserts that the Creed is no better than a forgery of the age of Charlemagne, and that it was concocted in the year 800 by Paulinus bishop of Aquileia, who composed a creed exactly resembling that ascribed to Athanasius, and sent it in the same year to Alcuin. As Mr. Brewer has unequivocally confuted Mr. Ffoulkes' arguments, it is unnecessary for me to do more than refer the reader to Mr. Brewer's work before mentioned, pp. 81-104.

Theory advanced by Mr. Ffoulkes.

Confuted by Mr. Brewer.

Although I purposely abstain from taking any part in the controversy between Professor Brewer and Mr. Ffoulkes, yet I must advance palæographical reasons against Mr. Ffoulkes' theory respecting the age of the Creed. What I have to say on the subject appears to me to be beyond dispute, inasmuch as I can produce manuscript evidence as early as the sixth century, of the existence of the *Fides Catholica* known as the Athanasian Creed.

Manuscript evidence against Mr. Ffoulkes' theory.

The earliest copy of the Creed, at least the earliest with which I am acquainted, is found in a very ancient volume belonging to the Academical Library at Utrecht. At one time it formed part of the Cottonian Collection of Manuscripts; for it bears the signature and arms of Sir Robert Cotton, as well as his press mark, [Claudius A. VII.] We are in ignorance when or by what means it became dissevered from that far-famed repository; there is, however, evidence that, as early as the year 1718, it had happily become the property of the University Library of Utrecht, by the donation of Monsieur D. de Ridder;§ I say "happily," for by this means it escaped the fire which destroyed so many precious volumes in the Cottonian Library.

Earliest copy of the Creed now at Utrecht.

In considering the age of this manuscript, it is important that the fact of its having once been in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton should be borne in mind, as it proves that it is the identical volume which had been seen and commented on by Archbishop Usher in his work "De Symbolis," addressed to Gerard Voss on the 8th of February in the year 1646.||

Formerly in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton.

\* I confine my observation to the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and do not include that of the *Incarnation*.

† During 15 years Theodosius promulgated at least 15 severe edicts against the heretics who contravened or disregarded the decrees of the Council of Constantinople. (See the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 6-23.)

‡ It is not at all improbable that Ambrose may have suggested to Theodosius the terms in his edict "Ergo sanctus pater, sanctus filius, sanctus et spiritus sanctus: sed non tres sancti, quia unus est Deus sanctus, unus est Dominus. Una est etenim vera sanctitas; sicut una est vera divinitas, una illa vera sanctitas naturalis (Ambros. de Sp. S. lib. iii. c. 16)."

§ Inside the binding is Claudius A. VII., and *Bibliotheca Trajectina donavit D. de Ridder*.

|| "Jacobi Usserii Armachani de Romanæ ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico vetere."

Archbishop  
Usher's opinion  
thereon.

As the question of Usher having ever seen the manuscript he has described has been frequently controverted, it is necessary to prove the fact. In mentioning the Athanasian Symbol the Archbishop thus writes to his friend: "Latino-Gallicum illud Psalterium in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ vidimus; sicut et alia Latina duo, longè majoris antiquitatis; in quibus præter hymnum hunc [sc. *Te Deum*] (sine ullo auctoris nomine, hymni ad Matutinas titulo inscriptum) et Athanasianum habebatur Symbolum et Apostolicum, totidem omnino quot hodiernum nostrum continens capitula. In priore, quod Gregorii I. tempore non fuisse recentius, tum ex antiquo picturæ genere colligetur,\* tum ex literarum formâ grandiusculâ, Athanasianum quidem Fidei Catholicæ, uti etiam in Psalterio Ludovici IX. Sancti dicti, quod in Regis nostri Bibliothecâ, extat Jacobæâ, alterum vero Symboli Apostolorum præfert titulum." From these remarks, it is clear that the Archbishop gives it as his opinion that the manuscript was written not later than the time of Gregory the Great (who filled the chair of St. Peter between the years 590 and 604); and Archbishop Usher was not the man to give expression to any hasty opinion, especially when he was writing to so severe and distinguished a critic as Gerard Voss, who had expressed a strong and different opinion as to the age of the Creed.†

Confirmation of  
Usher's opinion.

Usher's opinion is confirmed by the following inscription in a handwriting of the first half of the seventeenth century, on one of the blank leaves of the volume:

"Psalmi Davidis Latine cum aliis Hymnis et Canticis Sacræ Scripturæ, Oratione Dominicâ, Symbolo Apostolorum et Athanasii, quæ omnia illustrantur Romano habitu, figuris et antiquitate. Imperatoris Valentiniani tempora videntur attingere."

Waterland's  
opinion thereon.

Waterland, who wrote his "Critical History of the Athanasian Creed" in 1724, thus expresses himself respecting the manuscript which Usher had used:

"(A.D. 600.) The oldest MS. we have heard of is one mentioned by Bishop Usher, which he had seen in the Cotton Library, and which he judged to come up to the age of Gregory the Great.‡ This manuscript has often been appealed to since Usher's time, and, upon the credit of Usher, by the learned on this subject, as particularly by Comber, L'Estrange, Tentzelius, Tillemont, Le Quien, Muratorius, Natalis, Alexander, and perhaps several more. Montfaucon takes notice of Usher's manuscript, but observes that Usher himself allowed the character to be much later than the time of Gregory, which would have been a strange inconsistency in Usher, who forms his argument for the antiquity of the manuscript from the character itself, and from the ancient kind of picture. But Montfaucon is plainly mistaken,§ confounding what Usher had said of another manuscript, in Bennet Library at Cambridge, with what he had said of the Cotton Manuscript at Westminster.|| The two manuscripts are very distinct and different as possible, nor has the Bennet Manuscript any Athanasian Creed in it; only its being called 'Gregory's Psalter' occasioned, I suppose, the mistake of making it the same with the other. Tentzelius¶ seems first to have confounded them together; and probably Montfaucon followed him implicitly, not having Usher at hand to consult, which would immediately have discovered the fallacy. Were there no other objection against Usher's Manuscript beside what hath been mentioned, all would be well; but it is of greater weight to observe that there is not at this day in the Cotton Library any such Manuscript copy of the Athanasian Creed, nor indeed any Latin Psalter that can come up to the age of Gregory or near it. There is an ancient Psalter (marked Vespasian, A.) written in capitals and illuminated, and which might perhaps, by the character, be as old as the time of Gregory the Great, were it

\* v. Angeli Rochæ Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ, pag. 407, et Cardin. Carafæ Præfat.; in Edit. Græc. LXX. Interp. Romæ an. 1587 excus.

† See Waterland, p. 6, Ed. 1728.

|| Usher, de Symb., p. 9.

‡ Usher, de Symb. Præf. pp. 23.

§ Montf. Diatr., p. 721.

¶ Tentzelii Judic. Eruditor, p. 49, et Exercit. Select., p. 29.



" not reasonable to think; from a charter of King Ethelbald, written in the same hand  
 " and at the same time, and formerly belonging to it,\* that it cannot be set higher than the  
 " date of that charter, A.D. 736. But I should here observe that that charter is not in the  
 " larger capitals, as the Psalter itself is, but in the smaller capitals, the same hand that the  
 " several pieces in that MS. previous to the Psalter are written in, and how far this may  
 " affect our present argument I cannot say. Possibly the Psalter itself, being in a different  
 " hand, may be older than those previous pieces, as it is certainly much older than the  
 " additional pieces at the end, which are not in capitals, great or small.

" This Psalter has the 'Te Deum' annexed to it, with the title of 'Hymnus ad Matutinum,'  
 " as Usher's had; and also the Athanasian Creed, with the title of 'Fides Catholica,' but  
 " both in a very different and much later hand than that of the Psalter itself; later by  
 " several centuries, as the very learned Mr. Wanley† judges; who sets the age of the Psalter  
 " about 1,000 years, but of the Athanasian Creed, &c. at the time of the Norman Conquest.  
 " A suspicion, however, may from hence arise, that this very Psalter, with what belongs  
 " to it, might be the Psalter, &c. which Usher spake of, especially since there is none  
 " other in the Cotton Library at all like it. But, on the contrary, it is to be considered  
 " that this manuscript has no Apostolical Creed at all in it, which Usher affirms his to have  
 " had; nor has it the Hymnus Matutinus, beginning with 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo,' which  
 " Usher's also had;‡ nor is the Creed in capitals, as one would imagine Usher's to have  
 " been, by what he says of it. Neither is it at all probable that if Usher had intended  
 " the Psalter, now extant in the Cotton, he should give no hint of the Saxon version  
 " going along with it—especially considering that it might be made an objection to its  
 " antiquity. Nor do I think that so inquisitive a man as Usher could either have been  
 " ignorant of the age of Ethelbald, or of his charter having been once a part of that  
 " manuscript. In his *Historia Dogmatica*§ he takes notice of this very Psalter, now marked  
 " Vespasian, A., and of the Saxon version in it, and likewise of its being in the same hand  
 " with Ethelbald's charter: and there he sets the age of it no higher than the year 736,  
 " (that is, above 130 years later than Gregory I.), without the least hint that he had ever  
 " mistaken the age of it before, or had thought otherwise than he did of it at the time of his  
 " writing this later treatise. These considerations persuade me that Bishop Usher had seen  
 " some other manuscript, which has since that time, like many more,|| been lost or stolen  
 " from the Cotton Library. He that was so accurate in every tittle of what he says of  
 " K. Athelstan's Psalter (mentioned at the same time) could never have been so negligent,  
 " or rather plainly, careless, in respect of the other. I conclude, therefore, that there really  
 " was such a Psalter as Usher describes, with the Athanasian Creed in it; such as he  
 " judged to be of the age of Gregory I. from more marks than one; and how good a judge  
 " he was in those matters is well known to as many as know anything of that great man.  
 " But how far his judgment ought to sway, how the MS. itself is lost, I must leave with  
 " the reader."¶

The discovery at Utrecht of the missing manuscript annihilates all the theories and  
 suppositions of Montfaucon and others, and verifies the conjectures of Waterland.

The next person who alludes to the age of the Utrecht MS. is Gustavus Haenel, in his *Catalogue* (published at Leipsig in 1830). He thus describes it: "Psalterum Latinum literis  
 " uncialibus et semi uncialibus, sæc. vi. exaratum, cum delineatione ejusdem temporis;  
 " Salomonis fragmentum, eodem caractere, quo celeberrimus Codex Theodosianus, qui

Gustavus Haenel.

\* Hicke's Dissert. Epist. in Ling. Septentr. Thesaur. p. 67.

† Vid. Wanleii Catal. MSS. Septentr. p. 222.

‡ Usher, De Symbol. 33.

§ Historia Dogm. p. 104.

|| V. Th. Smithi Prefationem ad Catalog. MSS. Bibl. Cotton.

¶ Waterland: Critical History of the Athanasian Creed, p. 56, Ed. 1728.

"Romæ in Aedibus Vaticanis asservatur, scriptus est, memb. 4." It will be seen that he attributes its production to the sixth century; but it is suggested by Mr. P. J. Vermuelen, the University Librarian at Utrecht, that Haenel, from his inaccurate description of the volume, had not sufficiently examined it.\*

Baron van Westreenen.

The next scholar who, I believe, turned his attention to the Utrecht volume was Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt. He wrote a most detailed analysis of the volume, which he presented to the Utrecht Library. This work has since been given to the world by Professor H. J. Royaards, in his "Archief voor kerkelyke Geschiedenis, vol. iv. 1833." Baron van Westreenen believes the Utrecht MS. to have been written in the sixth or seventh century. So important do I consider the Baron's evidence on the subject that I venture to give the whole of his criticism in an appendix.

Professor Westwood.

To the important evidence of Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt, I would add that of an Englishman, Professor J. O. Westwood, who has bestowed much time and consideration on the subject of ancient manuscripts. Though I differ from him in some particulars respecting the Utrecht Psalter, I venture to do so with very great deference.

His opinion on the age of the Utrecht Psalter.

Concerning the age of the manuscript, Professor Westwood says, in his description of it, "In these respects a date not more recent than the sixth or early part of the seventh century ought to be assigned to the manuscript; but, as will be seen by the fac-simile in the upper part of my plate,† the initial letter of the first Psalm is a large golden uncial B, two and a quarter inches high, having a fine line of red edging to the gold, and a fine parallel blue one, the upper part of the letter formed into a large interlaced knot of the genuine "Anglo-Saxon style." This is a point, and a very important one, on which I differ from Professor Westwood; and I shall presently, I hope, produce sufficient evidence to prove to his satisfaction that the letter in question is not Anglo-Saxon.

To be differed from to some extent.

Many of Professor Westwood's remarks are so valuable that I have made copious extracts from them, with the permission of Mr. B. Quaritch, the proprietor of the work.

Attention of Convocation called to the Utrecht Psalter.

As the recent controversy respecting the age of the Athanasian Creed had again brought the subject of the age of the Utrecht Psalter prominently before the public, it attracted the notice of Convocation. Impressed with the importance of this document, the present Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Dr. Ellicott, requested the Master of the Rolls to obtain, if possible, a photograph of the MS. from the authorities of Utrecht. He believed, if it could be proved that the early age in which the MS. is supposed to have been written could be shewn to be correct, it would entirely remove a prevailing impression that the Creed was a forgery of the ninth century.

Photographs of the Utrecht MS. recently obtained by the Master of the Rolls.

Lord Romilly thereupon, through the cordial assistance of Earl Granville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, obtained from the Trustees of the Academical Library at Utrecht a photograph of several portions of the Manuscript, and his Lordship directed me to make a full report to him of my opinion as to its age, together with such remarks as might appear to me calculated to throw light upon the age of the Creed itself,—of course, avoiding the expression of all theological opinion.

\* There seems to be but little doubt that Haenel has mistaken the second portion of the volumes. The fragments have no reference to the books of Solomon, but are fragments of the Gospel, according to St. Jerome's translation, preceded by Jerome's letter to Pope Damasus, and the latter portion of his general preface to the Four Evangelists, &c. Haenel has also been taken to task by the Baron van Westreenen for comparing the Utrecht Psalter to the Theodosian Code preserved in the Vatican, because the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* do not enumerate such a MS. as being found there; but Professor Geel, of Leyden, has satisfactorily proved in his essay that Haenel was perfectly correct in his reference to that manuscript, and that he alluded to the eleven leaves (*undecim ampla folia complicata*) of the Theodosian Code which were discovered by Mai some years ago in the Vatican.

† Mr. Westwood here alludes to the fac-simile which he has given in his splendid work entitled "Fac-similes of Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts, 1868."



Before I proceed to pronounce any judgment respecting the Utrecht Psalter, I deem it necessary to state the materials from which I have derived my opinion thereon. Materials for this Report.

- (I.) The very accurate photographs of the Athanasian Symbol and Apostles Creed, and the "Canticum Simeonis" and the "Gloria in Excelsis," sent to England by the Trustees of the University Library at Utrecht.
- (II.) The lithograph of the Creed, and the commencement of the first portion with the initial letter B, made by Professor J. Arntz.
- (III.) The fac-simile made by Mr. Westwood of the commencement of the First Psalm with the initial letter, and the two drawings in connexion with that Psalm.
- (IV.) The fac-simile made by Mr. Westwood of the 150th Psalm, with the design at the head of it, and the design of the organ at the close of the Psalm.
- (V.) The fac-simile of the portion of the First Psalm given by Professor H. J. Royaards.
- (VI.) The volume of all the fac-similes in the Utrecht Psalter now among the additional MSS. in the British Museum.
- (VII.) The detailed description of the MS. given by Baron von Westreenen van Tiellandt.
- (VIII.) Mr. Westwood's analysis of the same MS.
- (IX.) Professor J. Arntz's description of the MS.
- (X.) The Librarian of Utrecht's account of the MS.
- (XI.) Notes on the Utrecht Psalter made by the Rev. Canon Swainson,\* on the 28th of August 1872.

It is true that I have not had the advantage of seeing the Manuscript itself; yet I believe that the data above mentioned, in conjunction with a knowledge of MSS. extending to more than half a century, enable me to form a correct judgment on the whole, and one quite as much to be relied upon as if I had seen and examined the manuscript itself. My opinion must therefore be taken for as much as it may be worth, after what I have to advance in justification of my belief has been duly considered. These data an equivalent for actual inspection of the manuscript itself.

I do not require to see the original statue of Venus de Medicis to judge of its exquisite beauty and art; a photograph of it will enable me to judge of both. The original will not tell me whether its author was Praxiteles, or enable me to declare his name; but a photograph will tell me that the statue is marble, and show me every defect time may have made upon its polished surface. So will an accurate photograph of a MS.† The very texture of its vellum leaves, the lines upon which the words are written, and every imperfection of the writing, are brought vividly before the eye. An experienced eye can detect whether the punctuation has been supplied by a later hand; whether the drawings were added after the manuscript was written; whether they encroach upon the text and overlap it, or not. This is as clearly perceptible as when ink has been placed over pencil-mark outlines. Grounds for this assertion.

To proceed then;—the Utrecht Manuscript is a square folio,‡ or perhaps it may be called Description of the Utrecht MS.

\* I avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Dr. Swainson for the assistance he has rendered me in this inquiry.

† The photographs of the Utrecht MS. plainly show that the texture of the vellum is very fine and thin.

‡ The binding is of about the latter end of the sixteenth century, with Cotton's arms on the back.

On one of the fly leaves at the commencement of the manuscript is the following annotation: "Psalterium secundum Septuaginta, ab Hieronymo emendatum, sive Psalmi Davidis, Latine cum aliis Hymnis et Canticis Sacre Scripturae, Oratione Dominica, Symbolo Apostolorum et Athanasii. Quae omnia illustrantur Romano habitu, figuris et antiquitate. Imperatoris Valentiniani tempora videntur attingere." After the word "attingere" the following occurs: "Fragmentum Evangelii secundum Matheum, de translatione B. Jeronimi cum prologo ipsius ad Damasum Papam, Literis Lombardicis.

"Carta originalis literis antiquissimis HLOTHARII Regis Cantuariorum BERCVALO, et Monasterio suo de terris in Westan in Geneco consensu Archiepi THEODORI A° Christi 679 Indictione septima."

The original Charter having been inserted in this MS. shows two important facts: first, that the MS. was written before the year 679, and next that it belonged originally to the monastery of Reculver.—See further on (p. 34) for remarks upon this Charter.

	a large quarto volume, extending to 216 pages; the first 192 of which contain the Psalter, according to the Gallican version.*
Its Psalter according to the Gallican version.	As part of my argument will, to a great extent, depend on the fact that the Psalter in question follows the Gallican, and not the Roman, text, a few words on this subject will be necessary here.
	Anciently, four kinds of Latin Psalters were used in various parts of Christendom. They were the Italic, the Roman, the Gallican, and the Hebraic.
The Italic version.	(1.) The ITALIC ( <i>Versio Italica</i> ) is the old translation or recognized version, which was used in Italy before St. Jerome's time.† It has been printed more than once. I believe no manuscript of the <i>Versio Italica</i> contains the Athanasian Creed.
The Roman Psalter.	(2.) The ROMAN is not very different from the ITALIC; indeed, it is little more than a text corrected by St. Jerome, and made about the year 383. It is called the ROMAN PSALTER, because it was first used in the Roman Offices; but it was extensively superseded in the sixth century, when Gregory of Tours introduced the version since called the Gallican version. The Roman Psalter, however, still obtained at Rome until the time of Pope Pius the Fifth.‡
The Gallican Psalter.	The Athanasian Creed is to be found in some of the Roman Psalters, but not in all. (3.) The GALRICAN PSALTER is St. Jerome's more exact Latin translation, made from Origen's Hexapla, or rather perhaps from the Greek Septuagint, corrected from the Hebrew where the Greek was supposed to be faulty. This work was executed by St. Jerome in the year 389. Proof exists of its use in Gaul or France during the sixth century. Hence it is called the "Gallican Psalter." From Gaul it passed over into England before the year 597; for we find Augustine specially alluding to it in his letter to Pope Gregory. It is not a little curious that although the Gallican Psalter and Ritual prevailed in England before Augustine's mission, yet it made but little way in the church of Canterbury. The Popes of Rome, though they themselves used the Roman Psalter, yet connived at the use of the Gallican version.§
The Hebraic Psalter.	The Athanasian Creed is found in the earliest Gallican Psalters. (4.) The HEBRAIC LATIN PSALTER is St. Jerome's translation taken immediately from the Hebrew, and was made in the year 391. It has not been in common use, like the Roman and Gallican; and it does not contain the Athanasian Creed.
Some MSS. with two or more of these various versions.	Before I dismiss the subject of Psalters, it may not be irrelevant to mention that some manuscripts of the eleventh century have the Roman and Gallican Psalters in opposite columns; others have, in like manner, the Gallican and Hebraic; some have all the three versions of St. Jerome placed in the same order;   and in a few MSS. the Greek text makes a fourth column.

\* This is evident from the omission of the words *a ligno* at v. 10 in the 95th Psalm (which occur in the Book of Psalms, according to the text of the Septuagint) after the words *Dominus regnavit a ligno*. The 95th of the Vulgate is the 96th of the English and Hebrew versions. In the Vulgate the 9th and 10th Psalms, according to the Hebrew, are counted as the 9th. Hence, after the 9th Psalm, the Hebrew numbering is one in advance of the Latin up to Psalm 146 Lat., 147 Heb. The 12th verse of Psalm 147 Hebrew (Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem) is the 1st verse of Psalm 147 Vulgate. The 148th and two following Psalms are numbered alike in the Hebrew and in the Vulgate. S. Justin, in his Dialogue with Tryphon, reproaches the Jews with having omitted those words from the Holy Text out of hatred to the Cross; nevertheless both Origen and S. Jerome suppress the words *a ligno* upon the faith of a Hebrew MS. (Nouv. Traité de Diplomatique, ii. 395.)

† Le Long Biblioth. Bibl. i. 243.

‡ Bona Rerum Liturgicæ, l. ii. c. 3.

§ Down to the year 678, when Pope Agatho sent John the Archchantor of St. Peter's into Britain, to teach the Roman mode of singing and reading; from which time the Roman ritual began to supersede the Gallican; and here I may be permitted to remark that this Utrecht or Gallican Psalter must have found its way into Britain before the year 678.

|| The Eadwine or Canterbury Psalter contains the Hebrew, the Roman, and the Gallican versions.



But to return to the contents of the Utrecht MS. Immediately following the Psalter occur the several Canticles of Isaiah, of Moses in Exodus ("Cantemus Domino"), of Abbaeuc, of Moses in Deuteronomy, of the Three Children, the *Te Deum*\* (called "Hymnum ad Matutinum"), the hymns of Zacharias (called "Canticum Zachariae prophetae ad Matutinum"), of Mary, Simeon (called "Canticum Simeonis ad Completorium"†), the Gloria, the Paternoster (without the Doxology), the Apostles Creed [Symbolum Apostolorum], in which is found the Article of the Descent into Hell,‡ the Symbol of Athanasius, here called *Fides Catholicam* (sic), and finally the apocryphal Psalm of David, often called the 151st Psalm. I may here mention that the Nicene Creed does not occur in this manuscript. Indeed it was not introduced into the Gallican Psalter until the time of Pepin or Charlemagne.§

Contents of the  
Utrecht MS.

After the Psalter are fragments of the Gospels, with Jerome's epistle to Pope Damasus, the end of his second general preface to the Four Evangelists (wanting the beginning); the preface of St. Matthew, with the contents of the chapters of that Evangelist; a drawn title-medallion,|| in the margin of which there is an invocation to the Virgin Mary, in Greek

\* I have not been able to discover when the *Te Deum* was first used, but I find it thus mentioned in the Rules of St. Benedict: "Post quantum autem responsum incipiat Abbas hymnum Te Deum laudamus." I mention this, as Baron van Westreenen states that the Psalter could not have been written in the fourth century, as that hymn had not been introduced into the Church service. It is alleged to have been written by St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan. Though somewhat irrelevant as to the age of the Psalter, I may mention that in the Utrecht MS. the word *munerari* instead of *numerari* occurs in the 20th verse, "Make them to be numbered with thy Saints." I have not been able to ascertain whether the same reading occurs in the Roman Psalter.

† This Canticum was not mentioned by St. Benedict. Mentioning it, Cardinal Bona writes "de quo S. Benedictus nullam facit mentionem."

‡ See remarks on these words, *post*.

§ The famous Psalter presented by Charlemagne (while only King of France) to Pope Adrian I. in the year 772 is a Gallican Psalter. It is thus described by Lambecius—

"Primus codex membranaceus veneranda vetustatis, ejusque formae, quae vulgo vocatur in octavo majori, continet "Psalterium Latinum, jussu et cura ipsius Caroli Magni, cum ad huc Rex tantum esset Francorum, et nondum "Romanorum Imperator, totum aureis literis exaratum, quod summo Pontifici Hadriano I., qui sedi Apostolicae praesesset "cepit die x. Februarii A.C. 772, et die 26 Dec. 795. Mortuus est, dono misit; uti ex sequentibus ab ipso rege Carolo "Magno compositis versibus dedicationis, qui primo ejusdem codicis folio literis itidem aureis scripti sunt videre est. "Repraesento autem eos hic adeo bona fide, ut tam in literis ipsis, quam in antiqua interpungendi ratione ne hilum "quidem immutaverim.

"Hadriano summo papae patrique beato.  
Rex Carolus salve mando valeque pater.  
Presul Apostolicae munus hoc sume cathedrae.  
Vile foris visu stemma sed intus habens.  
Organa davitico gestat modalantia plectro.  
Continet et lyricos suavisonosque melos.  
Haec tua xpe chelys miracula concinit alma.  
Qui clavem david sceptrum donumque tenes.  
Mystica septeno fuerant haec trusa sigillo.  
Carmina nunc xps panderet ista deus.  
Hoc vobis ideo munus pie dedo sacerdos.  
Filius ut mentem patris adire queam.  
Ac memorere mei precibus sanctisque piisque  
Hoc donum exiguum saepe tenendo manu.  
Et quamquam modico niteat splendore libellus.  
Davidus placeat celsa camoena tibi.  
Rivulus iste meus teneatur flumine vestro.  
Floriferumque nemus floscula nostra petant.  
Incolumis vigeas recitor per tempora longa.  
Ecclesiam que dei dogmatis arte regos."

After the Psalms and various Cantica and Hymni, "Fides S. Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini: Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat Catholicam fidem, etc."—Petri Lambecii, Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi, Lib. II., p. 261.

|| Westwood thus describes the medallion: "Within a circle formed of a ribbon about an inch and a quarter wide, "on which are represented a series of twenty-six pink scallops or plain festoons, underlaced by thirteen blue ones "of twice the diameter of the eighteen others; and in the open space formed by the former is inscribed the prayer "to the Virgin Mary as in the text."

words ATIA MAPIA BOHΘHCON Tω ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΙ, in the midst of which is a list of the Gospels, but having the spelling of *Lucan* instead of *Lucam*;\* the commencement of the Gospel of St. Matthew, as far as the words "Johannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum" (v. 4. c. iii.); and finally the first chapter of St. John, as far as the sentence "et dixit, non sum" in the 22nd verse. All these together occupy 24 pages, containing two columns on each page, written in solid black uncials,† of the same form as the headings &c. of the Psalter.

Character of the handwriting.

The text of these 192 pages of the Psalter (each containing three columns) is written in capitals generally known as *litteræ majusculæ rusticæ*, in about 80 lines in each column, each line being of equal length, and containing from 15 to 20 letters on an average. There is no interval between the words,‡ but they are all joined together.

NAMSI CUTANIMARATIO  
NALISETCAROUNUSESTHO  
MO.ITADSETHOMOUNUS  
ESTXPS;

Yet some of the words extend into two lines, as in the above instance, and even into two columns:

SEDNECESSARIUMEST      DAT;  
ADAETERNAMSALUTĒ:  
UTINCARNATIONEM  
QUOQUEDNINOSTRI  
IHUXPIFIDELITERCRE

while here and there a small space between some words, called *alinéa*§ occurs. Of this peculiarity I shall speak presently. The headings and commencing lines of each psalm or subject, and the initial letters of each verse, are written in red|| *uncial* characters, of a size rather larger than the text. But I should state that the commencing lines of the first sixteen psalms are in *gold*, afterwards they are in *black*, while the fragments of the Gospels are written in two columns only, and in uncials of the same form as the headings and com-

\* Baron van Westreenen remarks that the spelling "*Lucan*" for *Lucam* bears the mark of great antiquity, and "may therefore date just as much from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the seventh, as from the sixth century."

† The first word LIBER of St. Matthew's Gospel is written in plain capitals of gold, the initial L being two inches, and the others nearly an inch high. The gold has been ornamented with lines of black, which, as well as the gold itself, in parts, has scaled off. In the I and partly in the L these black lines exhibit traces of interlacement. The headings of the Lectiones are written in red *Rustic* capitals.—(Westwood, p. 7.)

‡ It is generally admitted that it is a mark of high antiquity in manuscripts when words written in capitals are not separated from each other by intervening spaces; and this no doubt, is true, but I would not go so far as to assert that when words are not joined together, therefore the writing must be comparatively modern, or at any rate of a date remote from the most ancient class. No doubt innumerable instances can be adduced of words being divided by points or other arbitrary marks, and sometimes separated from each other by small spaces; but these instances, I would remark, nearly all occur in lapidary inscriptions. There are, however, cases in very early MSS. where words are separated from each other by marks or small spaces; that is, there is a little more distance between the last letter of one word and the first of the word following it than between the letters composing the words themselves. For instance, in the MS. of Germanicus Cæsar's translation of Aratus, enriched with coloured figures of the constellations, in the Leyden collection, supposed to have been written and decorated in the ancient Roman times, the words, although written in capitals, are divided.—See Ottley's paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 171.

§ This word does not occur in any *Latin* dictionary with which I am acquainted, though it is frequently used in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*; it will, however, be found in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* :—

*Alinéa*. Loc. adv. empruntée du Latin, et qui signifie, À la ligne. Quand on dicte à quelqu'un, on dit *Alinéa*; c'est à dire, Quittez la ligne où vous en êtes, et commencez-en une autre audessous.

Il s'emploie plus ordinairement comme substantif masculin : *Lisez jusqu'au premier Alinéa* : *Observez les Alinéa*.

Il se dit souvent, par extension, d'un passage, d'un paragraphe compris entre deux *Alinéa* :

*Le premier Alinéa de ce chapitre est fort long* : *Un petit Alinéa* : *Un Alinéa tres-court*.

|| Dr. Swainson tells me that there is no rubric for the first four psalms; that is, there is no rubric until the fifth.



menagements of the psalms. The initial letter of the First Psalm is a large golden B. I shall have to notice this presently.

The orthography is, on the whole, pure; but there are several grammatical errors, which would indicate that the scribe was not a Latin scholar; diphthongs *oe* and *ae* are written in distinct vowels, and not as *æ*, *œ*. Orthography.

The rarity of abbreviations in manuscripts is generally in proportion to their antiquity, and this is the case in the Utrecht MS. The abbreviations are very few—a slight circumflex (˘) at the end of a word to indicate suppressed letters, as *m* or *n*, a dot or a semi-colon after *b* to denote *bus*, and after *q* to denote *que*. The abbreviations but few.

No one can examine the punctuation with attention, and believe it has been introduced by the original scribe. It is clearly a subsequent addition; for the punctuation is not carried on throughout the MS. As already stated, throughout the Psalter, as in other very ancient MSS., the words are not separated from each other by intervening spaces, but sometimes the letters of a word are separated, one portion being in one line and the remainder in the next, quite independent of the sense; and sometimes they are so disjointed as to be read with difficulty.\* Punctuation belonging to a later date.

The marks of punctuation in the psalter are the period or full stop (not often used). The semi-colon (;) and the inverted semi-colon (:) are much more general. In the fragments of the Gospels, a kind of comma (,) is almost constantly used, to the exclusion of the semi-colon and the inverted semi-colon. I shall, however, presently have occasion to speak more specially of the punctuation. The marks of punctuation.

The omission of stops marking periods, and distinguishing the members of a sentence, is a sign of antiquity.

Throughout the Psalter there are no less than 166 drawings in brown or bistre, each of which has some sort of reference to the subject of the psalm or passage near to which it is placed. The Gospel fragments, however, have none of these ornamental drawings. Drawings.

The handwriting is certainly of the sixth century, and so completely resembles that in the MS. No. 8084,† which I have seen and compared with the Utrecht facsimile, that both might readily be supposed to be the writing of the same scribe;‡ but I shall have future occasion to speak more particularly on this point. The drawings are seemingly taken from, or rather suggested by, designs of the fourth or fifth century; for they are plainly of the Roman style, both in the proportions of the figures, the dress and armour, as well as the shape of the buildings; while some are the invention of the chief artist who designed the The handwriting that of the sixth century.

\* Curious instances of this division of words is given by Otley (p. 173), as "summo Jove persea vis est" is written "summo io veperse auis est," and "vero sex undique parvae" is written "veros exundique parvae."

† Codex membranaceus, olim Puteanus. Ibi continentur:

1°. *Aurelii Clementis Prudentii liber cathemerinon.*

2°. *Ejusdem apotheosis.*

3°. *Ejusdem hamartigenia.*

4°. *Ejusdem psychomachia.*

5°. *Ejusdem ex libro σελων hymni quinque, primus Martyribus Hemiterio et Chelidonio: secundus B. Laurentio: tertius Eulaliae Virgini: quartus xviii. Martyribus Caesarangustanis: quintus B. Vincentio: finis desideratur.*

Is codex sexto saeculo videtur exaratus.

‡ Baron van Westreenen states that "the representations of Christ and the Saints with the head surrounded by a glory show that the manuscript cannot be as old as the time of Valentinian the younger, *i.e.*, of the 4th century." And I think that Baron van Westreenen's criticism is perfectly just. There is in the Catacombs a representation of the baptism of Jesus, in which he is portrayed standing in the Jordan, and John the Baptist pouring water with his hand on the Saviour's head; both of whom have a nimbus surrounding their heads, as also has the angel standing on the right hand of Jesus. This painting, however, is said to be of the sixth century (Bottarius illustrat. Rom. Subterr. tom. i. 199). I would refer the reader to St. Isidore's Etymologia, lib. xix. cap. xxxi., who, speaking of the *Nimbus*, writes, "Nam est lumen, quod circa angelorum capita pingitur, nimbus vocatur." St. Isidore wrote this work about the year 550.

drawings; for it is plain to demonstration that these illustrations were not all the work of one artist.

In proof of the great age of the French MS., which the Utrecht MS. so closely resemble in all points, I submit the opinion of M. Léopold Delisle, perhaps the most skilful and most accurate palæographer in Europe :

Opinion of  
M. Léopold Delisle  
as to the antiquity  
of the National  
MS. No. 8084.

" L'un des manuscrits les plus remarquables de la Bibliothèque impériale est l'exemplaire  
" des poésies de Prudence, n. 8084 du fonds latin. Il est entièrement écrit en belles lettres  
" capitales, sur une peau très-mince. Mabillon lui donnait à peu près la même antiquité  
" qu'à un Virgile du Vatican, dont il rapportait l'exécution au quatrième siècle. Dom Tassin  
" et Dom Toustain partageaient l'opinion de Mabillon : suivant eux, 'ce précieux manuscrit  
" 'approche fort du temps de l'auteur, s'il n'est pas contemporain.' M. du Wailly est du  
" même avis, et met résolument au quatrième siècle le ms. 8084. Il y a là peut-être un  
" peu d'exagération, et ce volume pourrait bien n'appartenir qu'au cinquième siècle; mais  
" ce qui est incontestable, c'est qu'il existait déjà au commencement du sixième."

Objections to the  
great age of the  
manuscript here  
anticipated.

As I am aware that the great age of the Utrecht MS. will be disputed, I think it expedient to anticipate the objections which may be urged against the antiquity of the volume; at least, I shall notice all those which have been mentioned to myself by those who support Mr. Ffoulkes' theory. There may, however, be others with which I am not acquainted. Whenever any such new objections may appear, I shall feel myself bound in honour either to acknowledge my own errors, or else to point out those of others, if I am able, without delay; for the subject has now become a matter of importance, in the eyes of my own countrymen, and in those of foreign scholars alike.

First objection.

The first objection then to the Utrecht MS., if I understand it rightly, is that the handwriting is not so early as that of the sixth or seventh century; but I have not yet heard the grounds upon which this opinion rests. It could not be derived from any examination of the manuscripts in the British Museum, for if we except the Vespasian Psalter there are none there of the sixth and not more than four of the seventh century. The Psalter of Augustine,\* as it is called (MS. Cott. Vespas. A. 1.), is written in large Roman uncials,

The Psalter of  
Augustine.

\* This MS. is generally believed to be the identical volume brought by Augustine into England; but it certainly does not answer the description, as given by Elmham, of the Psalter sent by Pope Gregory the Great, but another Psalter mentioned by Elmham agrees with the Cottonian MS. Vespas. A. 1. I here subjoin Elmham's words respecting the two Psalters. Elmham in his *Historia S. Augustini Cantuariensis* gives an account of the books in the monastic library at Canterbury; among them was "Psalterium Augustini," quod sibi misit idem Gregorius, in cujus primo folio incipiunt 'Meditationes' quedam devotè taliter annotatæ 'Ecce quantum spatiatum sum in memoria mea' etc. usque ad folium quintum, ubi incipit 'Omnia Scriptura divinitus inspirata,' et in altera parte ejusdem folii est 'Symbolum Apostolorum,' 'Oratio Dominica,' 'Gloria in excelsis,' et 'Sanctus, Sanctus,' etc. In sexto folio incipit 'Psalterium.' In fine vero ejusdem 'Psalterii sunt Ymni,' tam nocturnales, quam diurnales. Primus hymnus pro medio noctis est iste, 'Mediæ noctis tempus est;' secundus ad gallicantum, 'Æterne rerum Conditor;' ad matutinas, 'Splendor paternæ gloriæ;' ad primam, 'Venite fratres ocius;' ad tertiam, 'Jam surgit hora tertia;' ad sextam, 'Bis ternas horas explicans;' ad nonam, 'Ter hora trina volvitur;' ad vesperas, 'Deus Creator omnium;' ad completorium, 'Te deprecamur Domine.' In xl., 'Christe, qui lux es Domine.' De natali Domini hymnus, 'Intende, qui regis Israel super cherubin, qui sedes a patre Effrem. excita potentiam tuam et veni.' Ac deinde sequitur pro eodem hymno, 'Veni Redemptor gentium,' usque ad finem. In Pascha hymnus, 'Hic est dies verus Dei;' in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli, 'Apostolorum passio' De sancto Johanne Evangelista 'Amore Christi nobilis."

He mentions the other Psalter thus, "Est etiam et aliud 'Psalterium' supra tabulam magni altaris positum; quod habet exterius imaginem Christi argenteam planam, cum quatuor Evangelistis. In hujus Psalterii primo folio incipit, 'Omnia scriptura divinitus inspirata.' In tertio folio incipit, 'Epistola Damasi papæ ad Jeronymum,' et in fine Versus ejusdem Damasi; ac deinde 'Epistola Jeronymi ad Damasum,' cum Hieronymi versibus Deinde in quarto folio, 'De Origine Psalmorum,' in cujus fine distinguit Psalterium in quinque libros. Primus liber finit a Psalmo XL., videlicet, 'Beatus qui intelligit,' qui sic habet 'Fiat, Fiat.' Secundus liber a Psalmo LXXI., videlicet, 'Deus, judicium tuum,' qui sic habet, 'Fiat, Fiat.' Tertius liber a Psalmo LXXXVIII., videlicet, 'Misericordias Domini,' qui sic habet, 'Fiat, Fiat.' Quartus liber a Psalmo CV., videlicet, 'Confitemini II.,' qui sic habet, 'Fiat, Fiat.' Quintus liber a Psalmo CL., videlicet, 'Laudate Dominum de coelis,' qui sic habet, 'Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum.' In quinto folio ejusdem Psalterii sequitur expositio de Alleluia secundum Hebræos, Chaldaeos, Syros, et Latinos. Item interpretatio 'Gloriæ' apud Chaldaeos. Item interpretatio Psalmi CXVIII. per singulas literas. In sexto folio sequitur quando



with the title of each psalm in Roman rustic capitals in faded red ink.\* In both these particulars the Utrecht Psalter differs from it, the text in the Utrecht MS. being in Roman rustic capitals, and the titles of the Psalms in Roman uncials. There are, however, at the commencement of the MS. (Cott. Vespas. A. 1.) several pages written in Roman rustic and semi-rustic capitals, and one at the end of the Psalm, f. 109, which are considered to be of the fifth or sixth century. Now no one can look at the Roman rustic in this volume, especially that on f. 109, and reject the Utrecht MS. on account of its handwriting. If f. 109 is of the sixth century, which I believe it to be, there cannot be a doubt that the Utrecht Psalter is quite as old.

The second is the Biblia Gregoriana (MS. Reg. 1. E. 6), which may be of the seventh, though there are some indications of its being of the eighth century.† The Evangelia (Harl. 1775) is probably of the seventh century, as well as the Burney MS., No. 340.

The Biblia  
Gregoriana and  
other MSS.

psalli vel legi debeat, quomodo Hieronymus scribit; item 'Ordo Psalmorum per A, B, C, D.' In septimo folio de literis Hebraeis, quæ in Psalterio scribuntur. In octavo folio, 'Interpretatio Psalmorum,' usque ad folium undecimum, ubi incipit "Textus Psalterii," cum imagine Samuelis sacerdotis, et in fine ejusdem Psalterii sunt hymni de matutinis, de vespertis, et de Dominico die, sicut in alio Psalterio prænotato habentur."—*Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, by Thomas of Elmham. Edited by Charles Hardwick, M.A. p. 98.

\* The Psalter, with its interlinear Saxon translation, commences on f. 12. The Saxon translation is certainly an addition at a later period. The introductory leaves, from f. 1 to f. 12, contain the preface "De utilitate psalmodum." Other matter relative to the Psalms appears to me to have been added when Sir Robert Cotton had the volume bound, inasmuch as Cotton's name occurs at the foot of f. 12. His usual manner of showing his ownership was by writing his name on the first page of each of his manuscripts.

† Mr. Westwood, (p. 39,) speaking of this volume, says:—"In its present state, this noble manuscript contains only the four Gospels, with the Epistle 'Beato Papæ Damaso Hieronimus,' Capitula, and Eusebian Canons; but from the numeration of the quaternions of eight leaves each (lxxx. to lxxxviii.), it is evident that in its original state it contained the whole of the Bible, as the Old Testament occupies seven or eight times the amount of space required for the Gospels. This curious circumstance, overlooked by all other writers, has led me to the conclusion that this MS. is no other than the remains of the so-called Biblia Gregoriana, described by Thomas Elmham, a monk of the abbey of Augustine . . . and the Church of Christ at Canterbury, to which the MS. itself belonged, as appears from the inscription at the beginning of the volume, 'Liber Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis.'"

"The monastic historian (whose work is contained in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge) thus describes the volume, his description perfectly agreeing with the fragment before us:—"Imprimis habetur in librario Biblia Gregoriana, in duobus voluminibus: quorum primum habet rubricam in primo folio de capitulis libri Genesis, secundum volumen incipit prologo beati Jeronimi super Ysaïam prophetam. In principio vero librorum in eisdem voluminibus inseruntur quedam folia, quorum aliqua purpurei, aliqua rosei, sunt coloris, quæ contra lucem extensa mirabilem reflexionem ostendunt." The agreement of this latter statement with the volume before us will at once be admitted by all who have noticed the beautiful effect of the purple leaves on being held up to the light. The second title-page of this work is arranged after one of these leaves. Of all the Augustine MSS. (the 'primitie librorum totius ecclesie Anglicane,' as they are called by the annalist above mentioned), Wanley observes that the 'Biblia Gregoriana, duobus voluminibus scripta, agmen ducunt,' adding that these volumes were in existence no long time previous to his researches; since, in the apologetic petition of the Catholic laity, presented to King James I. in July 1604, they were expressly described in these words:—"The very original Bible, the self-same numero, which S. Gregory sent in with our Apostle S. Augustine, being as yet preserved by God's special providence."

"It may, however, be objected that the numeration of the quaternions indicates a continuous text, forming only a single volume; and that the manuscript itself is an Anglo-Saxon production, and certainly not an Italian one. Against the former objection I may suggest, that although the quaternions are numbered continuously,\* the work, when complete, might have been bound in two volumes; the Prophecies of Isaiah (which formed the beginning of the second volume of the 'Biblia Gregoriana') being about the middle of the Old and New Testaments united. Against the latter objection I can only reply that the noble size and appearance of the two volumes might easily have induced a monkish writer in the fifteenth century to have erroneously identified these two volumes with the description or tradition of the copy of the Bible which Bede informs us was sent by Pope Gregory to St. Augustine.

"At present the volume comprises only 77 leaves, measuring 18 inches by 14, the text being written on both sides in double columns, each containing 42 lines, several of the leaves containing the illuminations and their descriptions being stained of a very dark purple colour. Both Casley and Astle concur in referring the text (of which fac-similes are given by those two authors and also in my 'Palæographia') to the seventh century, whilst Sir Frederic Madden refers it 'unquestionably to the eighth century.'"

After a careful examination of this volume, I am inclined to agree with Casley and Astle, rather than with Sir Frederic Madden.

\* The famous "Codex Alexandrinus," although bound in four volumes, has quaternions numbered consecutively.

Objection that the writing is a later imitation of an earlier hand.

Answer to such objection.

However, I have been informed that some of the objectors to the great antiquity of the Utrecht MS. do not deny that it is written in the hand of the sixth and seventh century, but they allege that it is a copy made in the ninth or tenth century, and that the writer purposely imitated the handwriting of the sixth century. They do not seem to be aware that in making such an admission they defeat their own objection; for if the Utrecht MS. be imitated from a copy written in the hand of the sixth century, then the exemplar from which the copy was taken must have been of the sixth century; and if so, whatever becomes of the antiquity of the Utrecht MS. itself, the contents of it were as early in date as the original exemplar; and the result would be to place the origin of the Athanasian Creed at a much earlier date than its objectors are willing to admit. Besides, if it is a copy or imitation of a MS. of the sixth century, then its sixth century original must have had the same features and characteristics as the copy itself,\*—unless they are able to show that what was a copy was no copy;—and then precisely the same objections made to the character of the one would apply to the other. Moreover, what object could there have been in writing the whole Psalter in a hand that had become obsolete for some centuries, and perhaps unreadable, and the text of which was not that received at the time, for the Gallican Psalter had then been long superseded by the Roman? Had the Athanasian Creed been written in a hand of the sixth century, and the rest of the Psalter in a hand three centuries later, one might suppose that some fraudulent object had been intended, though it is difficult to surmise what the object could be. But that so costly and laborious a forgery as that of the whole Psalter should have been attempted, and should have been written in a hand that in all probability could not be read, is quite incredible. For what purpose? To palm off an antiquated psalter on the unsuspecting? Who was to gain by it? Then to palm off the Athanasian Creed as a document of greater antiquity than it really was? That might have been done in a more direct and economical way, by writing it alone in rustic letters of the time of Athanasius. In fact, any one who examines this MS. must be convinced, from the size and extent of it, and the excessive costliness of its decorations, that the surmise of its being written for a fraudulent purpose is too absurd to be maintained for an instant. The only reasonable conclusion is that it belongs to the date when the Roman rustic capitals and the Gallican Psalter were in use,—that is, to the sixth or the seventh century;—for there is no evidence, that I am aware of, of an entire MS. being written in Roman rustic capitals during the ninth century;† and this view is confirmed by a very remarkable fact.

It is generally supposed that the Harleian MS. No 603, is a tenth or eleventh century copy of the Utrecht Psalter. At first sight there appear to be good grounds for that belief, inasmuch

\* It is suggested by Professor Westwood, in his description of the Psalter of St. Augustine (p. 14) that the Utrecht MS. is a copy of a psalter brought from Rome by St. Augustine. His words are, "What more likely than that 'one of the two venerable psalters brought from Rome should have been a manuscript, and should have been the very 'one copied in the Utrecht Psalter in the rustic capitals of the original?' Now, if this supposition is of any worth, it proves that in the sixth century there was a MS. written in rustic capitals, and that the copy of it was the present Utrecht Psalter. If this were so, it would certainly prove that there was a MS. of the sixth century containing the Athanasian Creed. Unfortunately, however, for Mr. Westwood's supposition, the Utrecht MS. is a Gallican and not a Roman Psalter; and therefore Augustine would not have brought into England a Service Book of the Gallican Church.

† Professor Westwood has very obligingly sent me a fac-simile of the ordinary text of the Leyden manuscript of Aratus, which he considers to be of the ninth century. I am sorry that I cannot subscribe to Professor Westwood's opinion. The fac-simile he has forwarded to me is certainly that of a handwriting of the sixth century at latest. I should be inclined to give it an earlier date. It confirms the opinion of Mr. William Young Ottley, who is known to have bestowed much time and labour on the subject of 'Aratus,' "that there is every reason to believe the Leyden MS. 'to have been written and decorated in ancient Roman times.'" (Archæol. xxvi. p. 171.) Mr. Ottley, at p. 142 of his very learned dissertation, speaking of the Leyden MS., says that "it is in as perfect preservation as if it had been 'written and decorated only ten years ago, and appears certainly to be of very high antiquity.'"—"The text in this MS. is written opposite the drawings, in capitals not very unlike those of the Medicean Virgil, but perhaps a little 'larger, and more freely and loosely executed.'"



as it contains a large number of the illuminations which occur in the Utrecht volume. It does not comprise the whole; blank places having been left for several of the designs; moreover the MS. itself is imperfect. But now comes the extraordinary fact, that though the drawings have been closely imitated, in the Harleian MS. the text has not been followed,—apparently for this reason; the Utrecht MS. adheres entirely to the Gallican version of the Psalter, while the Harleian follows that of the Roman. The cause of the difference is obvious: the Gallican version had been superseded in England by the Roman, especially at Canterbury,\* where the Harleian MS. was doubtlessly written. This fact has been discovered by a careful collation. It affords an additional proof that the Utrecht MS. was written before the middle of the seventh century when the Gallican version was superseded. But even here the inferential evidence is not completed. There is a manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge, commonly known as the Eadwine Psalter, also written about the eleventh century, which contains the drawings in the Utrecht MS. more elaborately executed; and here again the Utrecht or Gallican text only occupies one of three columns; the other two being the Roman and Hebrew versions. This MS. was also written at Canterbury, so that though the drawings were imitated, though not very successfully, the Gallican text was placed in the same predicament with the Hebrew. It was evidently a class book, and not intended for the Church service.

I am fully aware that it is difficult to fix exactly the age of any manuscript, but an obvious difference is perceptible in the writing of each century, and even of each half century.

It is quite possible that a scribe may have lived in the latter half of one century and in the beginning of the next, and have never intentionally altered his writing; but a disciplined eye will at once see a difference between the firm decided hand of the man in his prime, and the unsteady feeble hand of the same man in his decline of life, although the letters of the two periods bear a resemblance to each other,—precisely as the face of a man of five-and-twenty and his face at seventy have similar features and the like expression, and yet there is a marked difference between the two faces, which it is impossible not to perceive. In formal handwritings I am quite sure that a difference may be seen in every twenty years.

Take, for instance, the reign of Henry the Third, in which four positive changes at least are easily discoverable; the shape of the letters and mode of abbreviating words vary; one style is superseded by another; and the handwriting at the commencement of Henry's reign is different from that at the end of it. And here I may remark that the writings of the same century also differ in relation to place as well as to time. In the provinces the writing is not so advanced as in cities; that is, a change was not so easily adopted.

I therefore think it clear to demonstration that the handwriting of the sixth century could never have been continued into the ninth, and that it would have been as difficult for persons in general to have read a sixth century MS. in the ninth century as it is for an unskilled person at the present time to read a manuscript written 300 years ago. An experienced eye will certainly tell the age of a manuscript within fifty years. The palæographer is seldom mistaken. He knows the age of a writing in the same way as he recognizes, among ten thousand, the writing of a friend or acquaintance; and this he does by a "power of accurate judgment," which, acquired and consolidated by daily, even hourly, experience, has at last become almost instinctive, and yet which he cannot impart or even justify to others. The shape of particular letters, especially the capitals, are landmarks

Difficulties of  
forging hand-  
writing.

\* Although the Gallican Psalter was not recognized in the services of the church at Canterbury, yet it is clear that it was not forbidden in their library, for there is a MS. now in C. C. C. Cant. No. 411, a Gallican Psalter, belonging to the early archbishops, which descended to Thomas Becket. Archbishop Parker, mentioning this MS., says, "Hoc 'Psalterium laminis argenteis deauratum, et gemmis ornatum, quondam fuit N. Cantuar. Archiep. tandem venit in manus Thomæ Becket quondam Cant. Archiep. Quod testatum est in veteri scripto.'"

which he cannot mistake. Even when a man of the present time writes a feigned hand (if the writing be of any extent) his capitals will betray him. The difficulty, therefore, of writing a whole book like the Utrecht Psalter in capitals, may be easily conceived. I do not say it is impossible for a man of the ninth century to have copied a very extensive work in the hand of the sixth century, provided he had an exemplar before him to imitate; but I do say it is next to impossible that he should have written so large a book as the Utrecht Psalter, without an exemplar, in a hand three hundred years before his time, and not have fallen into the mistake of writing some word or letter in the hand of his own time.\* Photography could make such a copy, but the lithographer, with his utmost skill, is liable to error. And, as I have already remarked, what end or object was to be secured by this forgery? Let the opposers say, if they will, that the Utrecht Psalter is a copy made in the ninth century; I then ask them to produce the original from which it was taken; and until they can accomplish that, I am fully justified in affirming that their theory has been made to account for their own notion of the facts, without any sufficient foundation.†

Other indications  
of antiquity in the  
Utrecht Psalter.

I proceed to other indications of antiquity in the Utrecht Psalter. Ornamental initial capitals (*lettres grises*) are comparatively rare in very early manuscripts. If their omission in a manuscript is not to be accounted for upon good ground, the MS. may be esteemed of the fifth century, or of the sixth at least. I believe that the letter B, the initial of the First Psalm, is the *only* ornamental initial in the whole of this manuscript.

Again, the less frequently the letter Y is found surmounted by a point, the more ancient we have a right to consider the MS. in which such letters occur. Those MSS. in which the letter Y is always, or almost always, without this point bear the mark of the highest antiquity, of the fifth century at least. The letter Y in the Utrecht MS. is very seldom pointed, and the point seems to have been added by the scribe himself when he has made the letter Y look something too like the V. In early MSS. the two letters often resemble each other, and can only be distinguished by the character intended for Y having a point placed over it.

Questions arising  
as to a particular  
ornamental letter.

The fact that the large ornamental B (the initial of the First Psalm *Beatus*†) is in a form not found among the Roman rustic letters has been exaggerated into an argument that the manuscript is not earlier than the ninth century. It is called an Anglo-Saxon letter by those who advocate the later date of the manuscript; and they aver that there is no instance to be found in Anglo-Saxon writings of a letter B of such a shape in manuscripts of the sixth century. That this part of the allegation is correct I doubt not, because, to the best of my belief, no Anglo-Saxon manuscript of that century is anywhere in existence. I should, however, state that ornamental initial letters are comparatively rare in very early manu-

\* On the Utrecht Psalter three persons at least must have been employed; viz., (1) the scribe of the text, which is all in the same hand; (2) the writer of the headings and commencements of the Psalms, and the Rubric and Canticles, which are in uncials, was different from the writer of the text; (3) the draftsman, or rather draftsmen, who executed the drawings. So that, if the Utrecht MS. is not genuine, there must have been three forgers at least at work upon it.

† I know perfectly well that manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries contain sentences and even verses of poetry in rustic capitals, when the scribe desired to show a distinction in his work; for instance, in prose writing where verse is introduced, the poetry is in the rustic hand, while the rest of the writing is in the ordinary hand of the period; just as in the MSS. of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the text is in the ancient English, quotations from the Latin are in the modern Italian. The same may be observed in the titles to chapters and treatises; but these instances are different from a whole MS. being written in rustic.

‡ The "*Beatus vir*" is on the upper left-hand corner of folio 2. Dr. Swainson is of opinion that Professor Arntz's fac-simile of the letter B is somewhat truer than that of Mr. Westwood; i.e., there is no line of white between the red and the blue. Under these circumstances, I have adopted Professor Arntz's fac-simile (see plate III.).



scripts; and this accounts for the B being the only ornamental letter to be found throughout the Utrecht Psalter.

I submit, however, that this B is not an Anglo-Saxon letter, either of the ninth century or of any other. It has not the grand unmistakeable characteristics of Anglo-Saxon capitals;—I mean the beading which encircles them. It is in reality an Irish letter, commonly found in Irish manuscripts from the sixth to the ninth century.

Its peculiarities not Anglo-Saxon, but Irish.

If it be inquired what grounds there are for determining that it is an Irish letter, I answer that Mr. Brian O'Looney, one of the ablest scholars of the day, has no doubt\* the initial B in the Cottonian [Utrecht] Psalter is a true Irish letter of a very old type. He thinks that it may be referred to the early part of the sixth century; though the plain and simple, yet beautiful style of its ornamentation and dress would almost indicate its contemporaneousness with a still earlier class of Irish manuscripts . . . . . In another part of his communication, Mr. O'Looney states, "As to the question when the Irish began to use initial capital letters, I have only to say that they are used in the oldest existing manuscripts, and that as a rule the oldest ones are those most richly ornamented."

Opinions of Irish scholars to that effect.

Other Irish scholars to whom I have shown the letter in question fully confirm Mr. O'Looney's judgment.

I would further add that it is a well known fact that, from the fifth century downwards, Irish artists travelled into Greece and Rome, introducing a new style of art quite distinct from that of any other part of the civilized world, and which in time superseded the ornamental writings previously in vogue in those countries. It was, in all probability, an Irish artist who executed the letter B. It certainly was not an Anglo-Saxon one.

Irish artists in Greece and Rome at an early date.

Professor Westwood, however, does not quite accord with this statement, although he has expressed a similar opinion in his Introduction to his great work, but unfortunately he does not give any authority for his change of opinion.

Mr. Westwood's dissent from this opinion.

It will perhaps assist the reader, when he is inspecting the photographs, if I recapitulate what I have already said respecting the peculiarities of this MS., in common with manuscripts of the sixth century. The letters of the text are Roman Capital letters roughly formed, and hence called Rustic (*litteræ majusculæ rusticæ*).† The words are not separated from each other, as in later writing. Occasionally a small space is left between two words; and in the Psalms a larger space occurs at the end of each verse, as may also be seen in the Creed in the accompanying photograph.

Recapitulation as to the peculiarities of MSS. of the sixth century.

The headings of the Psalms and commencing lines are in uncial letters,‡ which are

\* Mr. O'Looney's letter is addressed to Monsignore Woodlock, D.D., Rector of the Catholic University; and I have his permission, through the Reverend J. Jones, to make use of his valuable testimony. I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Jones for his valuable assistance.

† Dr. Swainson, who has very carefully examined the manuscript, informs me that he met with one instance where a word in the text (donec) is written in *uncials*. This, however, was undoubtedly the writing of the *corrector* of the MS., as it is in fainter ink. The corrector was invariably a different person from the *scribe*. MSS. were frequently corrected some time after they were written, and sometimes immediately after they were finished. On this subject the authors of the "Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique" (iii. 52) state, in mentioning a correction in the celebrated Virgil at Florence, that "Quoiqu'absolument parlant un MS. ait pu être corrigé long-temps après qu'il fut écrit, cependant il paroît que pour l'ordinaire la correction suivoit de près le temps de la copie. Les MSS. très-anciens sont corrigés par des hommes de même tems. Ce n'est que vers le vii<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'on a commencé à négliger la correction des livres." If this be so, of which I have no doubt, the correction in a different writing would have been made about the seventh century. Very many instances in proof of this statement can be adduced, if necessary. The *corrector* also inserted such punctuation as he deemed necessary. "Les copistes se déchargeoient de la ponctuation sur les correcteurs, qui la négligeoient ordinairement. Il n'y avoit que les personnes les plus curieuses et les plus exactes, qui fissent ajouter les points à leurs exemplaires." (N. T. de Dipl. iii. 464.)

‡ As this report may be perused by many who are not palaeographical scholars, I venture to give an explanation of the word *uncials*.

There has been and still is a different opinion as to the meaning of the word. I believe the word was first used by St. Jerome in his prologue to the book of Job. He thus writes: "Habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membranis

wholly unlike the rustic. Such headings in early manuscripts are generally in a different style of writing from the text, for the purpose of showing a distinction. They are seldom or ever written by the scribe who writes the text, and are often inserted long after the text has been written; but in the Utrecht Psalter these uncial letters and the text are almost contemporaneous.

The fragments of the Gospels at the end of the Psalter are in the same uncials\* as the headings and commencing lines of the Psalms, and are also seemingly contemporaneous.

The writing in the Psalter, Creeds, &c., is in three columns; but in the fragments of the Gospels there are only two columns in a page.

The punctuation.

The punctuation employed is the point or full stop (.), the semi-colon (;), and the inverted semi-colon (:); but these, as I have elsewhere explained, are used, not for the purpose of elucidating the sense, but for directing the singer or chanter.

I turn to another argument, sometimes adduced by the opponents of the position which I am supporting.

Objection that the punctuation is too copious.

It is one of the objections urged against the great antiquity of the Utrecht Psalter, that the punctuation is too copious for a manuscript written in the sixth or seventh century. It would be as well, I think, if those who make this objection would carefully supply the data upon which their objection is grounded.

Reply to such objection.

That punctuation is rare in early manuscripts I freely admit, but, nevertheless, it is sometimes met with. In proof of this I produce the testimony of the learned Benedictines of St. Maur, who bestowed so much time and talent on the examination of ancient manuscripts. In the third volume of their "Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique," they have devoted no less than forty pages to the subject of punctuation. I need not trouble the reader with their valuable remarks on the punctuation found in ancient marbles; I shall confine myself to their observations on the punctuation of ancient manuscripts. At p. 464 they write, "Autre chose est la distinction des phrases et des mots dans les MSS.; autre chose est leur ponctuation. On trouve des points dans plusieurs MSS. de la haute antiquité; quoique les mots n'y soient point séparés. Tel est le Virgile de Medicis et quelques autres, dont nous examinerons bientôt la ponctuation."

Opinion of the Benedictines of St. Maur on the punctuation of early manuscripts.

Now it is well known that these learned men saw with their own eyes nearly all the manuscripts upon which they commented, and, moreover, furnished the world with fac-similes of those they consulted, so that those who were interested in the subject might judge for themselves. I have therefore selected from their plates a few specimens (choosing

"purpureis auro argenteoque descriptos, vel *initialibus*, ut vulgo aiunt, literis, onera magis exarata quam Codices; dammodo mihi meisque permittant pauperes habere Scedulas, et non tam pulchros Codices quam emendatos." Upon these words Casley observes: "I am obliged to take notice that in the above quoted sentence from St. Jerome, is commonly read *uncialibus*, ut vulgo aiunt literis: and so it is printed, and always quoted in print; and not *initialibus*, as I have put the word, by the authority of several MSS. and by the known way of reading such ambiguous words, which is to take that reading which agrees best with common sense. By *initialibus literis* it is obvious to understand such letters as are wont to be put to the beginning of books, or chapters, or paragraphs; wherein if a whole book should be written, it would be indeed rather a burden than a book, as Jerome says. And several such old books are still remaining. But what can be made of *literis uncialibus*? Letters of an inch in length? Who has ever read of the ancients writing books in such monstrous characters."

Casley's assertion, according to the authors of the "Nouveau Traité" (vol. ii. p. 510), appears to be wrong. They state, upon the authority of Blanchinius (Vind. Can. Script. 398), that several men of letters of Italy requested the learned M. Assemani to consult the best MSS. in the Vatican, in order to determine fairly the true reading of the text of St. Jerome; and that the learned prelate, after having well examined them, attests that they all contradict the supposition of Casley. Among these MSS. are several of the seventh and eighth centuries; and they all, without exception, have the passage "*uncialibus*, ut vulgo aiunt, literis." Whether it has been through the opinion of M. Assemani that Casley's assertion has been disregarded, I am not able to say; but certainly the words *uncial* letters have been adopted by paleographical scholars instead of *initial* letters.

\* See Note ‡ on previous page.



some of those I myself have seen) in proof not only that MSS. of the sixth and seventh century contained punctuation, but that it was liberally used in MSS. of this early date. Take, for instance, the specimens given by the Benedictines in the thirty-fifth plate of their third volume, and which I myself have compared with the MS. (No. 8084) in the National Library at Paris. It is of the sixth century, written in rustic letters, so wholly resembling those in the Utrecht Psalter that it is difficult to believe that the two MSS. were not written by the same scribe. The words are all joined together, without any breaks or spaces between them. I give the words as they occur, with the punctuation:—

DAPU,ERPLEC,TRUMCHO,RAEIS,UTCA,NAMFI,DELIBUS  
DULCE,CARMEN,ETME,LODUM,GESTA,XPIN,SIGNIA  
HUNCA,MOENA,NOSTRA,SOLUM,PANGAT,HUNCLAU,DETLYRA

Compare another specimen given by them in the same plate, taken from the Vatican MS., No. 3867. The writing is in rustic letters, but larger than those in the Utrecht Psalter and the Paris MS., No. 8084. The words are all joined together, and yet there is a full stop between each, thus:

PE.SI.C.ELIDES.MUSAE.PAULO.MAJORA.CANAMUS  
NON.OMNES.ARBUSTA.JUUANT.HUMILESQ.MYRICAE  
SI.CANIBUS.SILVASSILVAE.SINT.CONSULE.DIGNAE.  
ULTIMA.CUMEI.VENIT.JAM.CARMINIS.AETAS

The Benedictines give another example, taken also from the Vatican (Palatin. 1631), of the same rustic writing without any punctuation, though all the words are run together.

TEQUOQUEMAGNAPALESETTEMEMORANDECANEMUS  
PASTORABAMPHYSSUOSSILVAEMANESQUELYCAEI

I have selected these three specimens from MSS. of the sixth century, but I might add many more for the purpose of showing that punctuation is no criterion of the age of a manuscript. Again, in many MSS., such as that of the Virgil in the Vatican, No. 3867, many of the pages are punctuated, and many not. In addition to this, many instances might be produced where the punctuation has been added, and even altered, several years after the manuscript was written; a fact which can be shown by the different colour of the ink. So then in reality no just conclusion can be drawn as to the age of a MS. from its punctuation. Punctuation does not seem to have been the business of the scribe, but that of the correctors, who apparently exercised their own discretion in placing such points as they pleased, or leaving the MS. entirely unstopped. On this subject the learned Benedictines write, "Les vuides en blanc supléoient encore aux interponctions; et c'est la plus ancienne manière de ponctuer, ou plutôt de marquer sans points la pause, qui laisse au lecteur le tems de respirer, en même-tems qu'elle met de la netteté dans le discours. C'est pour indiquer ce repos, qu'on a laissé quelque intervalle entre les mots dans le MS. du Roi 256, dont la ponctuation est d'un tems postérieur. S'il se trouve quelque espace vuide entre les mots, dans les Homelies d'Origène de la même bibliothèque, ce n'est que pour tenir lieu de points et de virgules. Dans le MS. Royal 6418, qui contient une partie des œuvres de S. Isidore, les mots ne sont distingués, que lorsque le sens est suspendu. Quand la phrase est complète et le sens fini, on laisse un intervalle en blanc dans le MS. du Roi 2630, où sont renfermés les treize livres de S. Hilaire sur la Trinité."

Were I to bring forward all that could be said in support of these positions upon early punctuation I should have to fill a volume. I shall therefore close this subject with the words of the Benedictines: "Il y a de très-anciens MSS. comme celui de S. Germain des

\* "Prés, où les points sont frequens; dans d'autres, tels que le S. Ambroise du Roi, ils sont rares. Nous en connoissons un nombre, dont la ponctuation est plus récente que leur transcription. Telle est l'idée qu'on peut avoir des interponctions usitées dans les MSS. depuis le iv<sup>e</sup> ou v<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à la fin du vii<sup>e</sup>. C'est donc s'appuyer sur une fausse règle que de prétendre, comme fait l'abbé Deljodure, qu'un MS. ponctué ne peut pas remonter au delà du viii<sup>e</sup> siècle."

Peculiarity of the punctuation of this MS.

Before concluding these remarks upon ancient punctuation, I wish to call attention to the punctuation of this MS., which is certainly peculiar, and seems to have especial reference to intoning, and not to the sense. The stops used are these four, (.), (;), (:), ('), and were, as I have already said, in all probability added long after the Manuscript was written. The full stop (.) is very seldom used, but the semi-colon (;) and inverted semi-colon (:) occur almost interchangeably (;) (:), as if each were intended to mark the difference between the rising and falling of the voice in reading or chanting. One or other of them is always placed at the end of each paragraph or verse instead of the period or full stop. In some places the point occurs in the middle of a paragraph, and certainly takes the place of the comma.\*

Musical punctuation.

As an instance of what I mean by musical punctuation, I select the specimen given already from a manuscript of the sixth century, preserved in the National Library of Paris, No. 8084. It is written like the Utrecht Psalter, in rustic capitals, with no separation between the words.†

Drawings in the Utrecht Psalter, and objections thereto, are not of the sixth century.

Another characteristic of the Utrecht Psalter are the numerous drawings contained in it. These drawings, according to the objectors, are not of the sixth century, especially that of the organ, which was not known in the West in the form here given before the ninth century.

There are scattered throughout the volume about 166 drawings in brown or bistre. They are executed with remarkable skill and freedom, and were seemingly derived from the times of the Lower Roman Empire. There is not the shadow of any Gothic work about them. The representations, both in the style of the houses, temples, and altars, as well as the dresses, armour, furniture, &c., have in general a striking resemblance to the representations in the celebrated Virgil of the Vatican Library, published in 1741.

Age of these drawings.

The age of these designs, for reasons I have given elsewhere, probably belongs to the end of the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth, century. The suggestion found on one of the

\* That these stops or points had reference to sound, and not to the sense, is undoubted. There is a Gallican Psalter in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth (No. 427), which proves this fact. Wanley, *Antiq. Litter. Septent.*, lib. 2, preface, thus describes it: "Psalterium D. Hieronymi Gallicum, asteriscis et obelis, punctisque musicis subjectis notatum." I have carefully examined the punctuation which occurs there, and it agrees with that in the Utrecht MS., only it is a little fuller. Besides the punctuation, several of the words have points under portions of them to denote where especial emphasis was to be employed. I have been enabled to make this examination through the gracious permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Bosworth, Rawlinsonian professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford. And Huchald, "De Harmonica Institutione," expressly says that the marks (:) (;) are musical indications for the direction of the voice, "in levando aut deponendo sonorum." (Migne *Patrol. Cursus*, vol. 132, p. 996.)

† I am told,—I use that word because I have not seen his work,—that Wattenbach states that this punctuation came into vogue in the ninth century with the Carolingian minuscules. But this is seemingly an error, for I have given in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica" a fac-simile of Bede's Ecclesiastical History from a MS. of the eighth century, in which the inverted semi-colon sometimes occurs, as punctuation, and not as a musical notation; still this punctuation may have been added at a subsequent time, as it does not extend throughout the MS. and its appearance bespeaks an addition at a later period.

The reader desirous of making himself acquainted with ancient punctuation is referred to the learned and curious dissertation on that subject by the celebrated Roger Bacon in his 'Opus tertium' 62 and 63, and also in his 'Compendium Studii,' where he shows that what is often taken for punctuation is nothing more than the musical signs known as *Artis et Thesis*.—"Arcis est elevatio; thesis depositio vocis ac remissio."



fly-leaves of the Psalter would make them as old as the time of the Emperor Valentinian (the younger), and therefore of the end of the fourth century, is somewhat exaggerated.

No one can look at the drawings and believe that they were the invention or designs of an artist in the ninth century, as they bear the unequivocal stamp of Roman or Grecian art, and as such are evidences of the time in which the text was written. The artist or designer of the Utrecht Psalter (for evidently it was the conception of one mind) must have roughly sketched out his plan before he commenced his work, and have determined the general nature of his illustrations. He certainly did not take them at hap-hazard or promiscuously. This is evident, as each drawing is adapted to the subject of the psalm or hymn in the proximity of which it is found. It is not unlikely that he had in his possession many specimens of former art,\* and selected those which he considered suitable to his purpose; and having determined what his drawing was to represent, he delineated temples, houses, costume, and armaments similar to those in use in his day.†

There can be but little doubt, I think, that the artists of very ancient times, I mean from the third to the sixth century, when employed to illuminate manuscripts with drawings or other works of art, took their designs from those of a previous age which were in existence at the time; but it is hardly probable that they would follow servilely their originals, or consider it necessary to copy them exactly; they would add the particular symbols by which each personage or object was to be characterized, but in all the rest they would follow the style of art and costume of their own time. Hence it is, that illuminations constitute as sure, if not surer, means of judging of the age of a manuscript as the handwriting. I would call the reader's attention, on this subject, to a memorandum made by Emanuele a Schelestrate, librarian of the Vatican, on an examination of the famous manuscript fragments of Virgil, made by himself, Mabillon, and Gio. Pietro Bellori. It will be found in the *Nouveau Traité Diplomatique*, vol. iii. p. 57. "Sept. 16th, 1686, in the Vatican Library, present the Rev. Father Jo. Mabillon, of the Order of St. Benedict, Gio. Pietro Bellori, and I the under-mentioned, the MS. No. 3225, preserved in the said library, was examined. It is a quarto of a square form, written in majuscule characters, without any separation of the words, except marks of punctuation; whereof those points which are placed at the top of the lines represent our period, and those in the middle or at bottom our comma. The letter A is without any transverse stroke, thus A; the upper part of the letter P is but half closed; the V is always rounded at the bottom; the T has the cross stroke at top very short; the stroke distinguishing the G from the C is like a comma; and in the letters E and F the horizontal strokes are little more than points. It contains numerous coloured drawings, which it is evident are earlier than the age of Constantine, and are perhaps of the time of Septimus Severus; as in them we do not only observe ancient temples, victims, edifices, galleys with two rows of oars, Phrygian caps and dresses appertaining to the sacrifices of the Trojans and Romans; but also a

Surmised usages  
of ancient artists.

Illuminations an  
indication of the  
age of manuscripts.

\* Dr. Swainson informs me that the Librarian at Utrecht drew his attention to the drawings for Psalm xxiii., where the towers of the gateway are *round*, and the towers on the walls are *square*; and he asks if this is Roman? I answer in the affirmative; for in the drawings in the Catacombs some parts of the same buildings are round, and others square. Further, the artist may have taken his designs from well-known examples, but occasionally altered them according to his taste or fancy. He also states that the *woman* represented here is not dressed in the *Roman* fashion, as the other females are;—which is another confirmation of my argument. If these drawings be the work of an Irish artist, as some one has suggested, it is even more evident why he should introduce a *round* tower. Dr. Swainson also says that the buildings look as if intended for a warm climate, the roofs being rather flat. All this confirms me in my opinion that the MS. was not written in England, but probably in some continental monastery.

† A curious instance of this occurs in the drawing illustrating the Apostles' Creed. The chief artist has sketched in slight outline at the foot of the page the shape of the temple that was to be introduced into the drawing. The superior hand of the master is distinctly seen in comparison with that of the draughtsman.

"degree of perfection in the drawing of the figures which indicates a superior and a better age. It is possible, indeed, that the artist who did these drawings may have followed the inventions of some more noble and ancient painter; as nothing is to be seen in them unworthy of the majesty of the first age of the Roman empire.—Emanuele a Shelestrate." This testimony shows that the three experienced men above mentioned attached great importance to drawings in fixing the date of manuscripts.

I do not intend to assert that manuscripts were not sometimes copied from earlier manuscripts, for several instances of such a practice are known to exist; but I do mean to say that although the drawings and illuminations were copied, yet the writing was not imitated, taking as examples the manuscript in the British Museum, Harl. 603,\* and that at Cambridge. In both of these MSS. the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter are imitated, but the writing is the writing of the period when the MS. was made. In addition to which, as I have elsewhere stated, the artists have not intermeddled with the Gallican text, but in one instance (Harl. 603) followed the Roman throughout, and in the other (MS. Trin. Coll. Cant.) incorporated the Gallican with the Roman and Hebraic texts.† Again compare the Terence which d'Agincourt printed, and supposed to be of the age of Charlemagne, with the Bible executed for Charlemagne. The style and decorations of each will show that they belong to different ages.

Allegations that the drawings and illuminations of the Utrecht Psalter were made before the writing.

Such allegations refuted.

It is asserted by those who object to the great age of the Utrecht Psalter that the drawings and illuminations were made before the writing; for they say the writing overruns the drawings, and the initial B to the First Psalm must have been inserted anterior to the words surrounding it.

On the contrary, that these drawings were added after the text was written, there cannot be the slightest doubt, seeing that in several places they have exceeded the space which had been left for them by the scribe, and have encroached upon the writing. An instance of this may be seen in Mr. Westwood's fac-simile plate in his great and valuable work.

Observations made in reference to the drawings of two organs.

Again, it has been urged, as a proof of the more modern date of the Utrecht Psalter, that the drawing of two organs,‡ illustrating the 150th and 151st Psalms, indicate that the MS. must have been written after the time of Charlemagne; or rather that it cannot ascend higher than the ninth century, for the representation of an organ with a manual arrangement (*i.e.* the organist playing with outstretched fingers) does not appear to have been in use before the time of Charlemagne. The question is settled against this objection by the fact that there is an excellent representation of an organ, not very unlike that in the Utrecht Psalter, carved on one of the early catacomb stones now inserted in the upper corridor leading to the library in the monastery of San Paola Fuorimuri near Rome, in which the player is

\* MS. Cott. Tiber. B. v., is a copy made in the tenth century of a MS. supposed to be written in the third century. There the attitudes of all the figures are the same as in the early MS.; but the Saxon artist has, wherever he could, given the costume of his own day.

† Those who are interested in this part of my inquiry are referred to the two MSS. here alluded to. I believe that Dr. Swinson, in his forthcoming work, will give examples from the Cambridge MS. of the drawing at the head of the Athanasian Creed, and of the organ, about which so much has been mentioned in the periodical press. It is quite evident that these drawings were taken from those in the Utrecht Psalter, although they have been altered by the artists employed on these two manuscripts.

‡ Professor Westwood (p. 18) describes one of these organs as a *water-organ*. In a letter to me, in reply to one I had written to him, he informs me that he made his statement in the *Guardian* of the 17th July 1872 (about the figure of the organ on the sepulchral slab at San Paolo) on his own authority, he "having drawn and rubbed the slab itself." . . . Professor Westwood further states, that "it is upright, and differs from the Utrecht drawing in having all the pipes of equal length, occupying the whole of the upper part, with a small round hole at the bottom of each pipe. The keys are placed (and drawn obliquely) as in the Utrecht drawing; but the whole of the wind apparatus seen in the latter is not represented on the St. Paul stone, being, as it would appear, inclosed by a flat front, on which is depicted the head of Medusa."



depicted with outstretched fingers. But, again, it is suggested that the method of making such organs was not known on this side of the Alps till the time of Charlemagne. Does not this then show that the MS. was written south of the Alps?\*

And here I cannot pass over without some notice an objection taken by Dr. P. J. Vermuelen,† and founded on a mistake made by M. Paul Lacroix, who seems to have derived his opinion as to the comparatively recent date of the drawings of the organs from the Cambridge MS. written in the eleventh century,‡ and which we know is only a copy of the Utrecht MS. written at least five centuries earlier. Had M. Lacroix been aware of that fact he would undoubtedly have come to a different conclusion.

Objection taken by  
Dr. Vermuelen.

As I have already made many allusions to the drawings, I must venture to arrest the attention of my readers a little longer on this important subject. Fac-similes of all the drawings are contained in a volume of the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, which I have carefully examined. Each Psalm is illustrated by a design, which runs entirely across the page (space having been left for it by the scribe) at the top of the triple columns of the writing. In some few instances, where the space was not sufficient, the drawings have encroached on the text. This circumstance has induced some persons to imagine that the drawings were made first and the text written afterwards. One of the reasons for that belief was that on folio 81, verso, Psalm CXLV., the drawings interfere with the words, although there was room enough below, and that fact gave the impression that the drawing was done first; but Dr. Swainson (who, I believe, entertained at one time the same impression,) seems to be convinced that the text was written before the drawing was made. On examining the fac-similes at the British Museum, it will be perceptible to all persons having any knowledge of such illuminations, that the architecture, dresses, arms, and musical instruments therein represented are of classical origin. Square temples, square altars, and various square buildings frequently occur,—a peculiarity, I am inclined to think, not to be found in Anglo-Saxon times from the sixth to the ninth century. The representations of the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and the signs of the Zodiac are purely classical. Again, there is a large candlestick with a lighted candle; can any such specimen of early Anglo-Saxon art be produced? I might also call attention to the Vine-cutting, and ask if it has any approach to a Saxon custom. At folio 18 is a river-god seated on a sea dragon, holding a reversed waterpot, and at fol. 87 is a representation of water, so wholly classical that nobody would take them for the result of Saxon art.

Fac-similes of the  
drawings in the  
Utrecht Psalter in  
the British  
Museum.

Baron van Westreenen states that the representation of Christ with a head surrounded by a glory could not be taken from any representation in the fourth century, as the nimbus was not then in use. These designs, therefore, could not have been taken from Roman types, and I think that the Baron's criticism is perfectly just as a general rule, though there are exceptions to it.

Baron van Westreenen's criticism  
as to the occurrence  
of the nimbus.

\* St. Augustine, who wrote a treatise on music, states that organs with bellows were used in his day. See his comments on Psalm lxi.

† I here give a translation of Dr. P. J. Vermuelen's words in assigning his reasons why he considers the MS. of a much later date than the sixth century. "It is worth while," he writes, "observing the drawings of two organs, of which a sketch is annexed, and whose construction probably does not admit of their being assigned to a date so far back as the sixth century. The larger drawing illustration is placed above the 150th psalm or hymn, which has sometimes been ascribed to David, and is called the 151st Psalm. The first is also found in the work 'Les Arts du Moyen Age,' et à l'époque de la renaissance, par Paul Lacroix; Paris, 1869, p. 200, with the subscription; Grand organe à soufflets et à double clavier, douzième siècle."

‡ This is the celebrated Eadwine or Canterbury Psalter in Trinity College, Cambridge, written in the eleventh century. It is considered to be a Roman Psalter, although it embraces the Hebrew and Gallican versions as well as the Roman. The drawings contained in the Utrecht MS. have been copied in the Eadwine MS. at Cambridge, though not very exactly.

*Handwritten notes:*  
The larger drawing illustration is placed above the 150th psalm or hymn, which has sometimes been ascribed to David, and is called the 151st Psalm. The first is also found in the work 'Les Arts du Moyen Age,' et à l'époque de la renaissance, par Paul Lacroix; Paris, 1869, p. 200, with the subscription; Grand organe à soufflets et à double clavier, douzième siècle.

Opinion of Martigny on the nimbus.

Martigny, one of the most recent authorities, (in his "Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes," Art. *Nimbe*,) thus sums up the conclusions to which, after a careful examination of extant materials, he has been led:—

"De l'étude qui précède, il résulte clairement que les images du Sauveur sont les premières auxquelles furent décernés par les artistes Chrétiens les honneurs du nimbe; celles des anges vinrent en second lieu, ensuite celles des évangélistes et de leurs animaux symboliques, puis celles des apôtres, et enfin celles de tous les autres Saints. Mais à quelle époque cet usage fut-il adopté pour chacune de ces classes de représentations? Nous en avons, pour les images de Notre Seigneur, des exemples bien antérieurs à Constantin; ils sont fournis par ces verres dorés que nous avons mentionnés plus haut. Il devint plus fréquent au temps de cet empereur, et passa tout-à-fait en règle après lui. Pour les anges, ce fut vers le début du cinquième siècle que s'introduisit la coutume de les peindre avec le nimbe, mais il n'y a pas de preuve qu'elle soit devenue générale avant la fin du sixième, car c'est Saint Isidore de Séville qui en parle le premier. . . . . Quant aux images des évangélistes, des apôtres et des saints en général, il n'est pas impossible d'en trouver de nimbées dès la même époque; . . . . . mais il est certain que l'usage ne s'universalisa qu'à la fin du septième siècle; c'est qu'autorisent à conclure et la mosaïque de Saint André in Barbara exécutée vers l'an 643, et le silence de Saint Isidore." The Padre Garracci is of opinion, however, that in the fifth century Christian artists either used or omitted the nimbus indifferently, but that after that time its use became universal. (Roma Sotterranea. Northcote and Brownlow. p. 194.)

The opinion of Padre Garracci.

Dr. Vermuelen's opinion on the age of the Utrecht Psalter.

Dr. P. J. Vermuelen, the librarian of the University of Utrecht, in his report respecting the age of the MS., and the date of the miniatures and illuminations, states, that "it is not possible for me to afford any proof that the manuscript belongs to the sixth century, for the simple reason that I have always assigned it to the eighth or ninth (750-850), and my opinion is unaltered."\*

The remainder of Dr. Vermuelen's report, in which he justifies this opinion, I give in the Appendix; stating, at the same time, that I feel myself compelled to differ from him.

Dr. Vermuelen's opinion as to the parchment used for the writing of the Utrecht Psalter.

The University Librarian has further expressed an opinion that "because the skins of the parchment used for the writing of the Psalter were made up in packets of eight leaves [? sheets] or 16 pages, and put together just like sheets of ordinary letter paper before the writer began to work, has induced him to suspect that the Utrecht MS. must be only a copy of an earlier one."†

Observation in answer to the librarian.

On this criticism I would observe, that it was the common, I might say, the universal, practice for scribes, before commencing their work to inclose their skins one within another, in parts containing either 3, 4, 6, 8, or 10 sheets, according to the estimated extent of the work to be copied. There may be instances, with which I am unacquainted, where a scribe has written an extensive work on single and separate sheets; but the scribe of the Utrecht MS. not resorting to so inconvenient a mode, followed the common practice of his day.

"Matutinum" and "completorium" words of early date.

I turn to another subject. It is alleged that the use of the words "matutinum" and "completorium," affixed to certain canticles in the Utrecht Psalter, cannot be of so early a date as the sixth century, inasmuch as those terms were not in use at that time. In answer to this, it is certain that both terms were in common use at the beginning of the sixth century, between 520 and 527, when St. Benedict issued his celebrated Rules for the

\* This was the learned librarian's answer to Lord Romilly's question, whether any information could be given to prove that the manuscript belongs to the sixth century.

† Dr. Swainson (who obtained his information from the Librarian at Utrecht) informs me that he believes the "quaternions" are 13 in number; 1 to 12 of eight folios each, folded into each other, and the 13th of two folios only.



government of the great Order which he founded. He does not mention them as anything new, but treats them as well-known parts of the church service; and as he did not introduce anything into his Rules for which he could not find authority in the Fathers, it is clear that both the "matutinum" and "completorium" must have been well known and duly recognised terms when he framed his Rules.

For instance, in mentioning the "matutinum,"\* he orders "ut, parvissimo intervallo quo fratres ad necessaria naturæ excant custodito, mox matutini qui incipiente luce agendi sunt subsequantur." "Et data benedictione incipiant matutinos." "In matutinis dominico die in primis dicatur sexagesimus sextus Psalmus sine antiphona." "Omni vero dominica extra Quadragesimam, cantica matutina, prima, tertia, sexta, nonaque cum Alleluja dicantur."

Examples of their use by St. Benedict.

In mentioning the "completorium,"† he orders, "Ut ait propheta, septies in die laudem dixi tibi. Qui septenarius sacratus numerus a nobis sic implebitur, si matutinæ, primæ, tertiæ, sextæ, nonæ, vespæræ, completoriiq; tempore . . . Ergo hiis temporibus referamus laudes Creatori nostro super judicia justitiæ suæ, id est, matutinis prima, tertia, sexta, nona vespæ completorio." "Completorium autem trium Psalmorum dictione terminetur, qui, Psalmi directanei sine antiphona dicendi sunt." "Ad completorium vero iidem Psalmi repetantur quotidie, id est, quartus, et nonagesimus, et centesimus tricesimus tertius." "Ex exeuntes a completorio nulla sit licentia denuo cuique loqui aliquid."

It is true that Cardinal Bona (De divina Psalmodia, c. ii.) is of opinion that Benedict introduced the "completorium," and he founds his opinion on the ground that he could not find the word was used by any earlier ecclesiastical writer either Greek or Latin; but, with all deference to the opinion of so learned a scholar, it is no proof that it was not in use, because he could not find any earlier mention of it. Many things existed amongst the ancient rites of the Church of which no record has been preserved as to the date of their invention; and it must be remembered that Benedict states that he had not introduced anything into his Rules for which he could not find authority. Be this, however, as it may, it is unquestionable that the "completorium" was well known as early as the beginning of the sixth century.‡

Opinion of Cardinal Bona that Benedict introduced the "completorium" not founded on sure ground.

Another objection has been urged against the Utrecht Psalter being so old as the sixth century. It is alleged that "the descent into hell," as mentioned in the Apostles' Creed, was not introduced into that Creed before the latter end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century.

"The Descent into Hell" alleged to have been introduced into the Apostles' Creed at a later date than the eighth century.

\* "Matutinum" is mentioned as one of the nine "turme" by Sigismund.

† The "Completorium" is not mentioned by Sigismund. See *Annal. Benedict.*, lib. i. p. 29.

‡ In the Bodleian Library at Oxford is preserved amongst the Hatton's MSS. No. 93, Bodl. 4,118, a copy of the Rule of St. Benedict, regarded by Astle as a manuscript of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth, century, and reported to have been brought to England by Augustine at the end of the sixth century. It is written in fine solid black uncial letters, of which Astle has given a fac-simile (*Origin of Writing*, tab. ix.) The manuscript is remarkable, however, for the fine capital letters with which the different chapters commence, which vary in height from one to two inches, the first letter (A) in the book being nearly three inches high. These letters are painted in vermilion, with strong black outlines, and surrounded with a marginal row of minute red dots; which to my mind proves that the MS. was written by an Anglo-Saxon scribe. They are for the most part of the uncial form, but modified by the taste of an Anglo-Saxon calligrapher, as appears in the angulated middle strokes of the A and N, the square C, the long-tailed N, &c. Of these initials Astle has given a complete series in his eighth plate; and notwithstanding their evident Anglo-Saxon peculiarities, he tells us that this plate "furnishes us with curious examples of the capital letters used in "Italy in the decline of the Roman Empire" (p. 81). This statement no doubt originated in the tradition that the volume had been brought into England by Augustine; but as no real Italian MS. has ever been seen with such initials, the volume must doubtless be classed amongst the few copied in this country, either by Italian scribes, or by most expert Anglo-Saxon copyists, who added the initials in their own style of art. A red Greek cross is represented at the top of the first initial A[usculata o filii]. The text is written in double columns with 22 lines in a page. The uncials are very broad in their form, with very thin hair lines. The margins and lines of the columns are ruled with a dry point, and the commencement of the rule respecting "Mensa fratrum edentium" is marked with musical notes of a very early form.—(*Westwood*, p. 8.)

I freely admit that it was not introduced into the Roman\* or Oriental versions at so early a period as the fifth century, for Rufinus† expressly states as much.

The fact however of Rufinus making such a statement proves that it must have been in some creed in his own day, or he could not have pointed out the difference.

Reply to this objection.

In addition to this I add:

1°. It is well known that the article "Descendit ad inferna" existed in the Creed long before the eighth century.‡

2°. It is certain that Archbishop Usher was aware that the Apostles' Creed, containing the same number of articles as it did in his own day and as it does now, existed in the MS. which he had no hesitation in assigning to the time of Pope Gregory the Great.

3°. The article is found in other undated MSS. of the Creed, which have been assigned by the most eminent palæographers to the sixth and seventh centuries.

Proofs of the early existence of "The Descent into Hell" in the Apostles' Creed.

First, the article of "*The Descent into Hell*" existed in the Creed long before the eighth century. It was recognized as an article of faith in the Apostles' Creed at least as early as the beginning of the fifth century: for it occurs for the first time, so far as those who have carefully investigated the subject have been able to ascertain, in the creed of the Church of Aquileia; and Rufinus, who was a presbyter of that church, in referring to the article in his "Commentary on the Creed," states that it was not to be found at the time he wrote (A.D. 390—A.D. 410,) either in the Roman or Oriental Creed. His words are "Sciendum sane est quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum '*Descendit ad inferna*;' sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo; vis tamen verbi eadem videtur 'esse in eo quod '*sepultus est*.'" The Aquileian Creed is not, however, absolutely the earliest Creed, but only the earliest orthodox public Creed, in which the article is found. It is found in an exposition of the Creed by Epiphanius,§ quoted by Lord Chancellor King in his "Critical History of the Apostles' Creed. London, 1703." It is not, however, in either of the Creeds which are found in the treatise "Ancoratus," 119, 120, by Epiphanius,|| and also in a summary exposition by St. Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 388,) in his "Catechesis Quarta," c. 11. It was introduced into an Arian Creed, originally drawn up at Sirmium, in A.D. 359,¶ for presentation to the council at Ariminum also held in that year.\*\* It was adopted, with modifications, in a council held by the Arians at Nicæa in Thrace in the same year,†† and again in a council at Constantinople in A.D. 360.‡‡ In a sermon which Eusebius §§ says that he obtained from the archives of the Church of Edessa, and which he states to have been preached by Thaddæus, one of the seventy disciples, to Agbarus King of Edessa, the Descent into Hell is found. The story, as given by Eusebius, is undoubtedly unhistorical; but, to use the words of Mr. Heurtley, to whose careful works on the early

\* The ancient Roman Creed was very short; it omitted the expressions that God was the "maker of heaven and earth," Christ being dead, His descent into hell, &c. (See Usher: De Symbol. pp. 6 and 9.)

† Rufinus, in Exposit. Symbol.

‡ I may here mention that the Apostles' Creed during the first four centuries was seldom written down, but was committed to memory. On this subject St. Jerome writes: "In symbolo Fidei et Spei nostræ, quod ab Apostolis 'est traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento; sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus post confessionem Trinitatis, 'et unitatem Ecclesiæ, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione concluditur.'" St. Augustine also writes: "Quotidie dicite apud vos symbolum, nemo scribat, ut legi possit; sed ad recensendum, ne forte dealeat oblivio, 'quod tradidit diligentia, sit vobis codex vestra memoria.'" Notwithstanding these authorities, it is probable that it must have been occasionally committed to writing, since Rufinus mentions it, and it was referred to in the Council of Nicæa and in that of Constantinople. Augustine, however, explains himself afterwards that, though it was written, it was not to be read aloud, but kept to refresh the memory, lest it should be lost by forgetfulness.

§ Advers. Heres. lib. 3. Expositio Fidei. c. 17.

|| Migne Ser. Græc. 43. pp. 232, 233.

¶ Baronii Annales, A.D. 357, xxiv, "quam [sc. the third Sirmian Creed] constat eodem anno quo Ariminense Concilium est celebratum, . . . . Sirmii esso conscriptam."

\*\* Baronii Ann. A.D. 359, i. Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 30, 37. Migne Ser. Græc. 67. pp. 280, 305.

†† Baronius, A.D. 359, xxviii. Theodoret. Hist. lib. ii. c. 21.

‡‡ Socr. lib. ii. c. 41.

§§ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 13.

Credo I am much indebted, "the summary of faith in which these words occur is a witness "to the elementary teaching of very early times"\*; we may add, of "times at latest as early as the period at which Eusebius wrote."

These appear to be the only Creeds, public or private, in which the article "Descendit ad inferna" is found before the time of Rufinus. It does not, so far as is known, appear again until the time of Venantius Fortunatus bishop of Poitiers, who was alive as late as A.D. 600 (Venantii Fortunati Opera Omnia. Romæ, 1786, pt. 1, p. 375). It is subsequently found in the Creed of Firminius, who died A.D. 758 (Mabillon Vetera Analecta. Paris, 1723, pp. 66, 67); and it occurs in the version of the Apostles' Creed produced in A.D. 785, by Etherius bishop of Osmâ, and Beatus presbyter of Astorga, against Elipandus, the heretical Archbishop of Toledo (Bibliotheca Patrum, Lugduni, tom. xiii. p. 360); and it is inserted in the Creeds of the 4th and 16th Councils of Toledo, A.D. 633 and A.D. 693.†

Secondly, it is certain that Archbishop Usher was aware that the Apostles' Creed, containing the same number of articles as it did in his day, existed in a MS., which he had no hesitation in assigning to the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century; for, in the description which he gives of the Utrecht Psalter in the letter to Gerard Voss, which forms the preface to his treatise "De Symbolo," he uses the following words: "in quibus" [sc. in duobus Latinis Psalteriis] ". . . . . et Athanasianum habebatur Symbolum et Apostolicum, totidem omnino quod hodiernum nostrum continens capitula. In priore" [sc. Psalterio Latino] "quod Gregorii I. tempore non fuisse recentius . . . . colligitur . . . ." Now Usher had himself written at length on the date of the introduction of this very article of "The Descent into Hell" in his "Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland" (Lond., 1625. Works by Elrington, vol. iii., p. 310): and in the treatise "De Symbolo" itself, as well as in the prefatory epistle, he again discusses the subject. It is quite incredible, therefore, that he should have forgotten when he assigned the time of Gregory the Great as the period at which the Utrecht Psalter was written, the objection, if any, which might have been taken to so early a date on the ground of the occurrence in the Apostles' Creed in that Psalter of the article "Descendit ad inferna." It consequently follows that one of the most eminent ecclesiastical antiquaries and palæographers of the seventeenth century did not consider the existence of that article in a MS. of the Apostles' Creed inconsistent with the belief that the MS. was written in the sixth century.

Lastly, the article of the Descent is found in other undated MSS. of the Creed, which have been assigned by other eminent palæographers to the sixth and seventh centuries. In 1732, Giuseppe Bianchini published at Verona a Commentary on the Apostles' Creed, falsely attributed to St. Athanasius, under the title "Enarratio pseudo-Athanasiana in Symbolum "ante hac inedita . . . e codice Veronensi . . . . ."

In the introduction to this work, which appears to be of great rarity,‡ Bianchini assigns the Veronese MS., from which the Commentary was printed, to the seventh century. Walch (Synopsis Symbolica, p. 74), says of this Creed: "Parum abest quin hanc omnium Latinarum "vetustissimam esse suspicemur, quæ descensum ad inferos habet." Again Mabillon ("Museum Italicum," tom. i., pt. 2, p. 312,) prints the Apostles' Creed, containing the Descent from a MS. Gallican Sacramentary which he found in the monastery of Bobbio. Mabillon (Mus. Ital., tom. i., pt. 2, pp. 275, 6) is of opinion that the MS. belongs to the middle of the seventh century. In the same Sacramentary he also found a second version of the Apostles' Creed, containing the names of the different Apostles, in connexion with

Assumption by Archbishop Usher that the Apostles' Creed, containing the same number of articles as it did in his day, existed in a MS. which he assigned to the time of Pope Gregory the Great.

The article of the Descent found in undated MSS. of the Creed attributed to the sixth and seventh centuries.

\* Harmonia Symbolica, Historical Review, p. 183.

† Labbé Concilia, tom. v. p. 1703, and tom. vi. p. 1395.

‡ I am indebted to my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, of Venice, for the loan of this very rare book, which he obtained, with very great difficulty, in Italy, expressly for my use. Mr. Rawdon Brown has also sent me photographs of the MSS. used by Bianchini in his work, which I shall make public when treating of the Greek and Latin texts of the Athanasian Creed in the MSS. at Venice.



the articles traditionally ascribed to them. The tradition is, of course, entirely unworthy of belief; but the article of the Descent occurs again in this second version of the Creed (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, tom. i., pt. 2, p. 396).\*

Conclusive nature of the evidence that the Descent into Hell was an article of faith in the fifth century.

Probability that the Psalter was written where the doctrines of the Aquileian Church prevailed.

The evidence in favour of "The Descent into Hell" being an article of faith in the fifth century, appears to me to be conclusive; but admitting, merely for the sake of argument, that it was not adopted at Rome until the eighth,† it is no evidence that the Utrecht Psalter was written in, or after, the eighth century; unless, indeed, it could be shown that the Psalter was prepared in Rome before the words in question were introduced into the Roman Creed. The probability, however, is, that it was written in some part of Italy where the doctrines of the Aquileian Church obtained; for it must be remarked that the phrase "*descendit ad inferna*," as it occurs in the Psalter, is the oldest form of expression, the same as that of Elipandus; while in the Creed of Venantius Fortunatus it is "*descendit ad infernum*," and afterward "*descendit ad inferos*."

For the purpose of completing these remarks on the Descent into Hell, I give the words of the Creed as they occur in a very ancient Gallican Psalter, written in the sixth century, and in the Utrecht Psalter.

VETUS MISSALE GALLICANUM.  
Written about the year 560.

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem caeli et terrae.

Credo et in Jesum-Christum, Filium ejus unigenitum sempiternum.

Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus est de Maria Virgine.

Passus est sub Pontio Pilato; crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus.

Descendit ad inferna.

Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos.

Sedit ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis.

Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.

Credo in sanctum Spiritum; sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam.

Sanctorum communionem: remissionem peccatorum:

Carnis resurrectionem:

Vitam æternam. Amen.\*

\* After *Amen*, this passage occurs—"Symbolum, fratres carissimi, non in tabulis scribitur; sed in corde, susceptum memoriter retinetur. Et ideo juvat iterare quod nunquam convenit oblivisci."

UTRECHT MS. FOLIO 90.

INCIPIT SYMBOLUM APOSTOLORUM.

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem creatorem caeli et terrae

Et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum dominum nostrum.

Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine. (sic)

Passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus mortuus et sepultus:

Descendit ad inferna:

Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis: ascendit ad caelum

Sedet ad dexteram Dei patris, omnipotentis.

Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos;

Credo et in spiritum sanctum sanctam ecclesiam catholicam

Sanctorum: communionem: remissionem peccatorum,

Carnis resurrectionem:

Vitam æternam. Amen:

The first two letters of the word *patrem* are in uncials, but the word *patrem*, written in full, occurs in the next line in rustic. See fac-simile.

\* I may refer to a very remarkable statement made by Usher in his "Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit," (*Works*, vol. iii. p. 310.) It is this: that Gilbert Genebrard, in his *Treatise on the Trinity*, (*De Trinitate libri tres contra hujus ævi Trinitarios et Autotheanos*, Paris, 1569 and 1585, 8°,) quotes the Commentary of St. Ambrose on the 5th chapter of S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, to show that the Arians were so strongly opposed to the doctrine of "The Descent into Hell," that they struck the article containing it out of the Apostles' Creed. Usher's reply to this allegation is, that there is not "the least footstep of any such matter in St. Ambrose; and that the Arians, "so far from disliking the article, actually introduced it (as we have already seen) into the Creeds of Sirmium, Nice, "and Ariminum." Now, the first half of Usher's answer, viz., that the passage which he says Genebrard quotes as from St. Ambrose, is not to be found in his works, is perfectly consistent with the existence of the passage in the Commentary, inasmuch as Usher may have believed, as all modern editors of St. Ambrose believe, that the Commentary, though very ancient, was not written by St. Ambrose. A very careful search, however, through the Commentary, as it exists in the Paris edition of St. Ambrose, (the edition which Usher most probably used,) has failed to discover the passage, not only in the comment on Rom. v. and Rom. xv., but also that on Ephes. iv. 9, a passage still more likely than either of the others to have given rise to the statement alleged to have been quoted by Genebrard. It would be interesting to discover the cause of Genebrard's mistake, for mistaken he most probably was; and still more interesting to show, that the Arians had been accused by a contemporary of subtracting from the Apostles' Creed an article which, it is generally supposed, was first inserted in that creed by the Arians themselves. This, however, in the present state of the case, it is impossible to do.

† I have now before me a Roman breviary of the thirteenth century, where "The Descent into Hell" is omitted in the Apostles' Creed. It runs "crucifixus sub Poncio Pilato passus et resurrexit tertia die et ascendit

Having thus shown, as I think, conclusively, that the Utrecht Psalter was written during the sixth century, I may be permitted to express an opinion as to the occasion of its coming into England.

I need not repeat what I have stated before, that in my opinion the MS. was not written in England, as, to my mind, it has none of the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon writing; nor, probably, in Rome, because it contains "The Descent into Hell" in the Apostles' Creed. I would, therefore, suggest that it was written in one of the monasteries in which the Gallican ritual obtained, as it contains ritualistic rubrics which are not to be found in the Roman or the Oriental ritual. That the MS. conforms to the Gallican ritual there can be no doubt.\*

It may then, I suggest, have been brought into England by Bertha, daughter of Charibert, King of France, and Queen of Athelberct, of Kent, who allowed her to retain the Christian religion, and maintained a bishop here as her spiritual guide,† before the arrival of Augustine in Britain. It is not a little remarkable that the Gallican ritual must have been known and used in Britain, from the time that Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, and Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, introduced it here, when they came from Gaul to endeavour to eradicate the Pelagian heresy. That the Gallican and the Irish‡ rituals obtained in Britain when Augustine arrived here, is evident from his question to Pope Gregory: "As the faith is one" and the same, are there different customs in different churches? and is one custom of "masses observed in the Holy Roman Church and another in the Gallican Church?" To which Pope Gregory answers: "You know, my brother, the custom of the Roman Church, in which, remember, you were brought up. But it pleases me, that if you have found any thing either in the Roman, or the Gallican, or any other Church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you should carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which as yet is new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Choose, therefore, from each Church those things that are pious, religious, and correct, and when you have, as it were, made them up into one body, let the mind of the English be accustomed thereto."

Thus, from Augustine's question and Gregory's answer, it is clear that the Gallican ritual obtained in England before his arrival; and as the Roman ritual§ was introduced by him, it is not at all probable that any Gallican or other foreign ritual would have been sanctioned under Augustine's primacy. To enlarge somewhat further on this subject. It is clear to demonstration that the Utrecht Psalter was prepared for some special occasion; and the extreme costliness of such a manuscript in those early times would appear to indicate that the Psalter under discussion must have been the property of some noble or royal personage. The high value that was set on these drawings is evident from the number of copies which were made from them. The drawings are such as would serve as an illustration of the text, and

Occasion of the Utrecht Psalter coming to England.

Perhaps brought here by Bertha, daughter of Charibert.

Early use of the Gallican ritual in England.

The Gallican ritual obtained in England before Augustine's arrival.

Reasons for supposing that the Utrecht Psalter in question belonged to Queen Bertha.

in calum." It might just as well be inferred that because the descent into hell is not in this MS., and yet it is in the Utrecht Psalter, therefore the Utrecht MS. was written after the thirteenth century, seeing that the phrase is found in later Roman creeds.

\* The prominence given, in the Utrecht Psalter, to the Athanasian Creed, as well as that of the Apostles, to say nothing of the Gallican version of the Psalms, is an additional argument that the MS. was written in a foreign monastery, where the Gallican offices of the Church obtained. These two Creeds are not to be found in any Roman Psalter of the 6th century.

† Bede, lib. I, c. xxv., states that Athelberct received Bertha from her parents upon condition that she should be permitted to retain her religion, with Bishop Luitard, who was sent with her as an assistant to preserve her faith.

‡ The Irish ritual differs from the Roman missal, and does not agree in all things with the Gallican.

§ It is, I believe, admitted that Pope Gregory the Great reduced the Roman liturgy into the order now used by that Church. It may be mentioned here that York, Croyland, Lincoln, Sarum, and London afterwards had peculiar liturgies; but that of Sarum, drawn up by Osmund, Bishop of Sarum, 1078, being grounded on the Roman, was in general use in England until the time of Cardinal Pole, when the Roman was adopted.

Not written for an Anglo-Saxon personage.

Probably bequeathed by Queen Bertha to the monastery at Reculver.

stand in the place of a comment to rude and uneducated minds; for, as I have already observed, all the drawings have especial reference to the subject near to which they are placed. Thus, the Apostles' Creed is illustrated by the chief incidents mentioned therein; viz., the trial before Pontius Pilate, the crucifixion, resurrection, descent into Hell, and ascension into Heaven. I would further add, it is evident that the MS. was not written for an Anglo-Saxon personage, or it would have had an interlinear translation into that language, as is the case with those Psalters and other works which Augustine brought with him into England, for the instruction of his converts. Bertha, being a French princess, would not, of course, require such assistance. The designs were intended not only to convey what we may call an emblematic translation, but by their intrinsic beauty to impress the truth more clearly on the mind.

As it was written in some foreign monastery, and was brought into England by Queen Bertha, so I am inclined to think it was bequeathed by her to the monastery at Reculver in Kent.

King Æthelbrect is said to have built a palace at Reculver; at least so Smith interprets Beda's words: "Ipse Ædilbreches Regulbium demigravit, ibique novum sibi palatium condidit;" and it was there that Queen Bertha, with her Christian instructor, Luithard, the Gallican bishop of Senlis, worshipped. She had previously performed her devotions at St. Martin's, Canterbury;\* but when that ancient church was given by the King to Augustine and his followers, she removed to Reculver, where it is said her husband built a small monastery, at her request. Beda, however, makes no mention of this monastery; but be this as it may, we know that Ecgbert, King of Kent, in the year 669, gave lands there to one Basse, a nobleman who had become a priest, for the purpose of enlarging the monastery at Reculver; and we have evidence that Lothair, who succeeded Ecgbert as King of Kent, granted in the year 679 certain lands to Bercuald,† the abbot there; this very charter

\* *Erat autem prope ipsam civitatem ad Orientem ecclesia in honorem S. Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Britanniam incolerent, in qua regina, quam Christianam fuisse prædiximus, orare consueverat.*

† I here give the charter: "In nomine Domini nostri Salvatoris Jesu Christi: Ego Hlotharius rex Catuvariorum pro remedium animae meae dono terram. in Tenid. quas appellatur Westan ac tibi Bercuald, tuoque monasterio cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus campis pascuis meriscis silvis modicis fonnis piscaris omnibus ut dictum est ad eandem terram pertinentia, sicuti nunc usque possessa est, juxta notissimos terminos a me demonstratos et a procuratoribus meis. eodem modo tibi tuoque monasterio conferimus. teneas possideas tu. posterique tui in perpetuum defendant a nullo contradicatur. cum consensu archiepiscopi Theodori et Edrico. filium fratris mei necnon et omnium principum. sicuti tibi donata est ita tene et posteris tui: Quisquis contra hanc donationem venire temptaverit sit ab omni Christianitate separatus et a corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi suspensus. Manentem hanc donationis chartulam in sua nihilominus firmitate et pro confirmatione ejus manu propria signum sancte Crucis express et testes at subscriberent rogavi. Actum in civitate Reculv in mense Maio Indictione septima."

"In ipsa ante memorato die adjunxi aliam terram in Sturia juxta notissimos terminos a me demonstratos et procuratoribus meis cum campis et silvis et pratis sicuti ante memorabimus supradictam terram: ita ista sit a me donata eodem modo cum omnibus ad se pertinentia, in potestate Abb. sit. in perpetuum. a me donata. a nullo contradicatur, quod absit. neque a me neque a parentibus meis neque ab aliis. Si aliquis aliter fecerit a Deo se damnatum sciat. et in die judicii rationem reddet Deo in anima sua."

" + Signum manus Hlothari Regis Donatoris.  
 " + Signum manus Gumbereti.  
 " + Signum manus Gebredi.  
 " + Signum manus Osfridi.  
 " + Signum manus Irminredi.  
 " + Signum manus Aedibmaeri.  
 " + Signum manus Hacani.  
 " + Signum manus Aeldredi.  
 " + Signum manus Aïdhodi.  
 " + Signum manus Gudhardi.  
 " + Signum manus Bernhardi.  
 " + Signum manus Uelhisci."

The original charter is now in the Cottonian Collection (Augustus, II. 2.), and seems to have been removed from the Utrecht Psalter by Sir Robert Cotton himself, when the volume was rebound. It is printed in Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus aevi Saxonici," tom. I. No. 16.



having been originally inserted in the Utrecht Psalter. The manuscript, in all probability, remained at Reculver, as a memorial of its royal donor, and was either carried to Canterbury when Bercuald left the abbacy and became Archbishop of that See; or when that monastery was dissolved, and all its possessions and effects were removed to Canterbury, in the year 999; and hence it is that the drawings in this noble and beauteous MS., which would be justly prized at Canterbury, were copied by the writer of MS. Harl. 603, and by Eadwine, a monk at Canterbury, whose work is now preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge.

The Psalter finally transferred to Canterbury.

To sum up what I have said in favour of the date of the Utrecht Psalter, placed by me at the close of the sixth century, I have shown—

Summary of arguments in support of the various propositions.

- (I.) That Archbishop Usher, one of the most accomplished and accurate of theologians, archaeologists, and palæographers, attributes it to the age of Pope Gregory the Great, who occupied the chair of St. Peter from 590 to 604.
- (II.) That Gustavus Haenel, a highly competent authority, assigns it to the sixth century.
- (III.) That Baron van Westreenen, renowned for his knowledge of ancient MSS., ascribes it to the sixth or beginning of the seventh century; his opinion has been adopted by that of Professor H. J. Royaards.
- (IV.) That Professor Westwood in his great work has assigned it to the sixth or early part of the seventh century.\*

\* I have within the last few days received a letter from Professor Westwood, in which he says—"I see that in my large work I have not expressed myself so explicitly on the age of the MS. as I did in the *Ih. Arch. Institute*, xvi, p. 246, as follows: 'Supposing the drawings to be later (that they are later is proved by some of them extending over parts of the adjoining text) additions by an Anglo-Saxon artist copying from an early classical series of drawings we should have no difficulty in referring the text to the 5th or 6th century. The initial of the First Psalm, however, precludes us from assigning it to so early a date, and would bring it to the 7th or 8th at the earliest, ranging it with the Psalter, so called, of S. Augustine, Cotton Library, *Vespas. A. 1.* In this case the drawings may have been added in the 9th or 10th century. A more recent inspection of the Leyden *Aratus* (the text of which is also written in still finer rustic capitals in the 9th century, the drawings being grand classical figures) has led me to believe that the Utrecht Psalter may even have been written as late as the 8th or even the 9th century.'" I have given Professor Westwood's own words explaining the reason of his change of opinion, but I think it must be considered that the reasons he advances are far from satisfactory. There can be no doubt, I think, that the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter were inserted after the text was written (though, *mirabile dictu*, the reverse has been urged upon me), therefore Professor Westwood would refer the text to the 5th or 6th century. In that I agree with him, but then he says that the initial of the First Psalm precludes him from assigning it to so early a date, and would bring it down to the 7th or 8th at the earliest, ranging it with the Augustine Psalter (*Vespas. A. 1.*). Why he comes to this conclusion he does not state, and I am at loss to conceive, inasmuch as the Augustine Psalter does not contain any similar letter. He then goes on to say, "In this case the drawings may have been added in the 9th or 10th century." Why this should be so Professor Westwood does not say, nor can I divine. Nor indeed do I comprehend the force of an argument, which allows that the text is of the 5th or 6th century, and *because* the drawings may have been added as late as the 9th, infers that the whole MS. is of that date. The drawings are certainly the work of a foreign artist, and were copied four or five centuries afterwards by an Anglo-Saxon artist, not very exactly, but, on the whole, sufficient to show that they were taken from the Utrecht Psalter. Moreover, I do not see what the Leyden MS. can have to do with the Utrecht MS., so as to induce Professor Westwood to bring the latter down to the 8th or 9th century. The two MSS. are in my opinion written nearly about the same period, but the Leyden is the earlier of the two. Professor Westwood in his letter—I have already given his words—compares the Utrecht Psalter to the Cottonian MS., *Vespas. A. 1.*, and therefore, as I understand him, would bring it down to the 7th or 8th century. In his great work he has given a very interesting description of this Cottonian MS. Speaking of it he says, "The ten leaves" (at the commencement of the volume) contain the prefaces to the Psalms, and "is written in tall thin rustic capitals, without enlarged initials or any space left between the words, closely resembling those of the Florence Virgil written in A.D. 498" (p. 10), . . . "whilst the latter portion of the prefaces, including the Epistle Damasus, . . . is written in a smaller and rounder rustic character, closely resembling that of the MS. of St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, of the 5th or 6th century" (p. 10). "The drawing is coeval with the text, . . . and affords illustrations of the dresses and musical instruments of the period. It bears so strong a resemblance, both in its design and manipulation, to the wall paintings of Italy, and especially to the drawings of the Codex Genesios of the Cotton Library, the Vatican Virgil of the 5th century, and the Florence Gospels of St. John Zagba, A.D. 586, and is, at the same time, so entirely unlike any productions of our native artists in these respects, that I can only regard it as a work executed either by one of the Roman followers of St. Augustine, or as a precise copy made from a Roman original by a skilled Anglo-Saxon artist by whom or by one of his fellow Anglo-Saxon artists the ornamental arch in which the painting

- (V.) That I myself, with an experience of more than half a century, believe it to have been written at the latter end of the sixth century.
- (VI.) That none of the objections against this date, so far as I have heard them, are of sufficient validity; whether they relate to the handwriting, the initial letter B, the punctuation, abbreviations, drawings, especially the organs, the descent into Hell, the Matutinum, the Completorium, the nimbus, &c.
- (VII.) That as the Utrecht Psalter is a Gallican, and not a Roman, Psalter, objections to it, based upon the Roman usage, are of no force.
- (VIII.) That the objections of the librarian at Utrecht may be satisfactorily answered.\*
- (IX.) That there are good grounds for surmising how the MS. in question found its way into England.

I may have failed in what I have attempted, but I have not allowed prejudice to guide me in my researches; for I am not conscious of any prepossession in favour of the Creed—rather otherwise. Its retention in the Book of Common Prayer, or the modification of the Rubric that compels it to be read aloud during Divine Service, is a question simply for theologians, in which I do not feel called upon to take any part. I have formed my judgment on the photographs of the manuscript on which the Master of the Rolls desired my opinion on palæographical grounds exclusively; and if I have helped to remove any erroneous impression as to the Creed being of later date than the sixth century, I feel I have done some service, and that my time and labour have not been thrown away.

My remarks on the Venetian and other manuscripts, at Paris, Vienna, and Rome, I must reserve for a future occasion.

Since writing the above I have read Mr. Ffoulkes' last pamphlet, entitled "The Athanasian Creed Reconsidered," but I see nothing in it that affects my statement in the slightest degree except his own statement, wherein he says, p. 49, "I contend with 'Professor Heurtley that its (the Utrecht Psalter) exhibiting the Apostles' creed, full and complete as now, negatives its being earlier than the eighth century, and further, on my own responsibility, that its appending the Athanasian Creed at all to a Psalter designed for use in a choir, to say nothing of its designating this Creed as 'Fides Catholica,' simply negatives its being earlier than the middle of the ninth at best."

I am quite content that the opinion here advanced should rest, as Mr. Ffoulkes desires, simply upon his own "responsibility."

T. DUFFUS HARDY,  
Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

28th November 1872.

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"is enclosed was executed," (p. 11). In another place, speaking of the Cottonian MS., *Vespas. A. 1.*, Professor Westwood (p. 12) says, "We have seen above that not only are several pages of the MS. containing the prefaces, &c. (written in rustic or semi-rustic capitals) referable to the 5th or 6th century; but the whole of the ordinary text of the Psalter is written in Roman uncials with which several MSS. of the 6th and 7th centuries may be advantageously compared; indeed, were it not for the illuminated initial letters, the volume would unquestionably be assigned to a Roman scribe."

After having expressed himself so strongly as to the very early age of the Cottonian M.S. (*Vespasian A. 1.*) it is not a little singular that Professor Westwood should have changed his opinion so completely as to assign it to the 7th or 8th century, and without assigning any reason for his change of opinion.

\* I take this opportunity to express my warm thanks to Dr. P. J. Vermuelen for his very courteous and ready answers to my many inquiries, and for the valuable remarks with which he has favoured me.

## APPENDIX.

MEMORIE door den ondergeteekenden Bibliothekaris overgegeven aan Heeren Curatoren der Hoogeschool te Utrecht, aangaande den *Codex MS. Psalmorum*, waarin het zoogenaamde *Credo Athanasii* gevonden wordt.

Gevraagd is:

- I. Of eenige inlichting kan gegeven worden ten bewyze dat het Handschrift tot de zesde eeuw zoude behooren.
- II. Of er reden bestaat om te onderstellen dat de miniaturen en illuminatien van latere dagteekening zyn dan het schrift der geloofs belijdenis.

Ten aanzien der eerste vraag moet ik al aanstonds doen opmerken dat het voor my niet mogelyk is eenig bewijs te leveren dat het HS. uit de zesde eeuw afkomstig zoude zyn, om de eenvoudige reden dat ik het altyd tot de achtste of negende (750-850) heb gebragt en myn gevoelen niet is veranderd. Het was dan ook met bevreemding dat ik in een werkje van den Heer J. Jones, *The Creed of S. Athanasius, &c., Lond., 1872*, het volgende aantrof: "The present archivist, Mr. P. J. Vermeulen, has been decided in his opinion that "it does not reach further back than the seventh century." Hoe deze woorden in dat werkje gekomen zyn, blyft my tot nog toe een raadsel, daar allen die het Handschrift in de laatste jaren onderzocht hebben, tevens myne meening aangaande den vuerdom hebben vernomen.

Deze meening evenwel is in stryd met die van anderen.

Op een der drie voorste schutbladen van den tegenwoordigen band staat, met eene hand uit de eerste helft der 17. eeuw geschreven: "Psalmi Davidis latine cum aliis hymnis et canticis sacrae scripturae, "oratione dominica, symbolo Apostolorum et Athanasii, quae omnia illustrantur Romano habitu figuris et "antiquitate Imperatoris Valentiniani tempora videntur attingere." Misschien vindt men hier het gevoelen van den toenmaligen bezitter, Sir Robert Cotton, of van een ander die het HS. in Cotton's verzameling zag. Bisschop Usher, die het aldaar in het begin der 17 eeuw leerdekennen, zegt in zijn mij onbekend werk *De Symbolis*, naar opgave van Waterland, *A critical History of the Athanasian Creed. Camb., 1724*, pag. 46, dat ons HS. voor het minst tot den tyd van Paus Gregorius I. moet worden terug gebragt.

In het werk van den Hoogleeraar Gust. Hänel, getiteld *Catalogi librorum MSS. qui in Bibliothecis Galliae, &c., asservantur. Lips., 1830*, wordt ons HS. col. 722 genoemd: "Psalterium latinum literis uncia- "libus et semiuncialibus, saec. VI. exaratum, cum delineationibus eiusdem temporis," en dit is woordelyk overgenomen in het 41 deel der *Nouvelle Encyclopedie théologique (Dictionnaire des Manuscrits), Par., 1853*, waar ons HS. vermeld wordt met de woorden, "Beau manuscrit du VI. siècle en lettres onciales et semi- "onciales et miniatures." De verdere geheel onjuiste beschrijving van den band doet het betwijfelen of de bekwame Leipziger bibliograaf ons HS. wel met nauwkeurigheid onderzocht heeft.

Eindelyn werd onze Codex in het *Archief voor herkelyke geschiedenis, uitgegeven door de Hoogleeraren Kist en Royaards IV. Deel, Leid., 1833*, door den Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt, op Clz. 233, volgg. Creëdvoorig omschreven en deze helt er toe over om het ontstaan van den Codex tusschen het einde der vyfde en het begin der zevende eeuw te plaatsen.

Ik zal dan trachten myne meening te regtvaardigen, om daar door tevens eenig antwoord op de eerste vraag te geven.

Even gemakkeelyk als het meestal is den ouderdom van latijnsche Codices der elfde en latere eeuwen uit het schrift karakter te bepalen, even zoo moeyelyk is dit by handschriften van hooger en ouderdom, vooral voor ons Nederlanders, die zoo weinige Codices uit de eerste helft der middeleeuwen bezitten. En wat wy daarvan hebben, mist bovendien eene vaste dagteekening, die dan ook slechts zelden in Codices wordt aangetroffen. Het schriftkarakter toch van diplomata (in den regel van dagteekeningen voorrien) wijkt te zeer van dat der Codices af om door vergelyking den ouderdom der laatste met zekerheid vast te stellen. Zie *Note sur trois Manuscrits d'âgé certain*, in de *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 29 année, Par., 1868, p. 217, s. 99.

Myn gevoelen dat ons HS. tot de eeuw van Keizer Karel den Groote behoort, steunt op de vergelyking van het schriftkarakter met dat van andere Codices, uit die eeuw (naar men meent) afkomstig, en waarvan grootere of kleinere fragmenten in onderscheidene werken zyn afgebeeld; immers geeft de inhoud van onzen Codex geen enkel afdoend bewys voor eene juiste bepaling van zynen ouderdom. Had de eerste ons



bekende bezitter, of zyn zoon, niet de onvoorzigtigheid gehad den Codex te doen inbinden, dan zoude de oorspronkelyke gedaante van het oude stuk misschien nog eenig licht kunnen aanbrengen. Maar ook dit laatste kenteken verdween door den nieuwen bruin of rood lederen band, met Cotton's familiewapen voorzien. Bovendien heeft de boekbinder de perkamenten bladen op gelyke grootte afgesneden en daardoor nog eenige letters, die ter zyde naast den tekst, eenigzins buitenwaards stonden, en een versiersel op den rand van het 19 blad verminkt. Zelfs de handteekening van Sir Robert Cotton, in den regterbovenhoek van het oude perkamenten omslagblad staande, bleef by dat regelmatig afnyden niet geheel ongeschonden en dat alles geschiedde om het voor zulk een Codex gewis minder gepaste verguldsel op de sneede te kunnen aanbrengen.

Het schriftkarakter blijft dus het eenige middel om tot bepaling van den ouderdom te geraken en de fotografische afbeelding van het Credo van Athanasius geeft daartoe aan ieder de gelegenheid; immers is de geheele Codex, zoo wel de Psalmen als de daarby gevoegde lofzangen en ook het Credo van Athanasius enz. blijkbaar door dezelfde hand geschreven.

De perkamenten vellen, tot dat schrijven gebruikt, zyn by katernen 'afgedeeld en even als bladen van gewoon folio schrijfpapier in elkander gelegd. Elk katern heeft acht bladen of zestien bladzyden. De eerste of recto zyde van het oude omslagblad, dat oorspronkelyk tot band gediend zal hebben, heeft in den linker benedenhoek het cyfer 1, en op de tweede of verso zyde eene groote teekening, behoorende tot den eersten psalm, waarvan de tekst boven aan de recto zyde van het tweede blad met de groote vergulde letter B begint. Deze recto zyde is, op dezelfde wys als het omslagblad met 2 gemerkt. Nu gaat de nummering by elke acht bladen of zestien bladzyden, van 3 tot 12 voort; het dān volgende katern, dat slechts uit twee bladen of vier bladzyden bestaat, van welke de tweede en derde bladzyden de geloofs belydenis bevatten, is met 13 en het onmiddelyk daarop volgende achterste oude omslagblad met 14 gemerkt. Sir Cotton's boekbinder, van wien die cyfers hoogst waarschyglyk afkomstig zyn, heeft ze gewis voorzichtigheidshalve daarop gebragt op dat de volgorde van den ouden band by het maken van den nieuwen niet verbroken zoude worden.

Op zech zelven zyn deze cyfers van geen belang, maar zy toonen genvegzaam aan dat de Codex geheel volledig tot ons kwam en dat het vereischte getal perkamenten vellen af geteld, en in katernen byeen gevoegd is, eer de schryver met zynen arbeid begon.

Het is deze regelmatigheid in de zamenstelling van het boekdeel, die my wel eens deed vermoeden dat onze Codex slechts eene kopy van eenen vroegeren zoude zyn.

En hiermede kom ik tot de tweede vraag.

Zoo als bekend is, ving de ornamentatie of het werk van den illuminator aan, als dat van den schryver voltooid was en werd het gewoonlyk aan andere daarin ervaren personen toevertrouwd. Nu bewyst de reeds vermelde eenvormigheid in schrift en perkament vrij zeker, dat onze Codex door dezelfde hand van het begin tot het einde achtereenvolgens is afgeschreven. Maar dan heeft de schryver, boven elken psalm of ander stuk de ruimte, voor de teekeningen vereischt, open moeten laten en hij moest die ruimte by het schryven kunnen berekenen, want zy stond in verband met de meerdere of mindere uitvoerigheid in de voorstelling der verhalen en beeldspraken van den daaronder staanden tekst. En hiertoe was het noodzakelyk dat de teekeningen bij het schryven reeds bestonden, het zy afzonderlyk of wel in eenen vroegeren Codex, die tot model verstrekte.

Zoo kan het verklaard worden dat afbeeldingen van kleeding, wapenen, huisraad, instrumenten enz. hier voorkomen, die naar een vroeger tydvak heenwyzen en aanleiding gaven om ook aan het schrift eenen hooger en ouderdom toe te kennen dan het werkelyk heeft. Opmerkelyk zyn ten deren opzigte de afbeeldingen van twee orgels, waarvan eene schets hiernevens gaat en wier constructie waarschyglyk niet veroorlooft ze tot de zesde eeuw terug te brengen. De grootere teekening staat boven den 150<sup>e</sup> psalm, de kleinere boven het lied, dat wel eens aan David toegeschreven en 151<sup>e</sup> psalm genoemd is. De eerste wordt ook gevonden in het werk, *Les arts du moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance, par Paul Lacroix*, (Bibliophile Jacob,) Paris, 1869, p. 200, met het onderschrift: "Grand orgue à soufflets et à double clavier, douzième siècle. (MS. de Cambridge.)"

Of al de teekeningen van onzen Codex oorspronkelyk van dezelfde hand zyn, darf ik niet beslissen; ik twyfel er aan; sommige zyn geheel of gedeeltelyk uitgewischt, andere naar het my voorkomt later opgewerkt en alle zyn niet even zorgvuldig behandeld.

Utrecht, 10 Augustus 1872,  
De Bibliothekaris der Hoogeschool,  
P. J. VERMUELEN.

(Translation.)

REPORT presented by the undersigned Librarian to the Curators of the University of Utrecht, on the *Codex MS. Psalmorum*, in which is contained the so-called *Creed of Athanasius*.

Questions:—

1. Can any information be given to prove that the manuscript belongs to the sixth century?
2. Are there reasons to suppose that the miniatures and illuminations are of later date than the writing or text of the Creed?

With respect to the first question, I must observe at once that it is not possible for me to afford any proof that the manuscript belongs to the sixth century, for the simple reasons that I have always assigned it to the eighth or ninth (750–850), and my opinion is unaltered. It was, therefore, with surprise that I lighted upon the following passage in a work by Mr. J. Jones: "The Creed of S. Athanasius, &c., Lond., 1872." "The present archivist, Mr. P. J. Vermuelen, has been decided in his opinion that it does not reach further back than the seventh century." How these words got into the book remains still a riddle to me, for all who of late years have examined the manuscript have always embraced my opinion about the age of it.

This opinion is, however, at variance with that of other persons.

On one of the three blank leaves at the opening of the present volume is found in a handwriting of the first half of the 17th century: "Psalmi Davidis latine cum aliis Hymnis et Canticis Sacre Scripturae, oratione dominica, Symbolo Apostolorum et Athanasii, quæ omnia illustrantur Romano habitu figuris et antiquitate Imperatoris Valentiniani tempora videntur attingere." Perhaps we here find the opinion of the then possessor, Sir Robert Cotton, or of some other person who saw the MS. in Cotton's collection. Bishop Usher, who made acquaintance with it there in the beginning of the 17th century, says in his work, unknown to me, "*De Symbolis*," according to *Waterland, A critical History of the Athanasian Creed, Cambridge, 1724*, page 46, that our MS. must be referred, at least, to the time of Pope Gregory I.

In the work of Professor Gust Hûnel, intitled *Catalogi librorum MSS. qui in Bibliothecis Gallia, &c., asservantur*. Lips. 1830, our MS. is called, Col. 722: "Psalterium latinum literis uncialibus et semiuncialibus, sæc. VI. exaratum, cum delineationibus ejusdem temporis," and this is copied word for word in the 41st part of the *Nouvelle Encyclopédie théologique (Dictionnaire des Manuscrits)*, Par., 1853, where our MS. is mentioned in the words "Beau manuscrit du VI. siècle en lettres onciales et semi-onciales et miniatures." The further quite inaccurate description of the volume leads to a doubt whether the accomplished Leipzig Professor carefully examined our MS.

In conclusion, our Codex is described at length in the *Archief voor Kerklyke geschiedenis, published by Professors Kist and Royaards IV. Deel. Leid., 1833*, by Baron van Westreenen van Tiellandt, page 233, &c., and he inclines to assign the origin of the Codex to a period between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the seventh century.

I will now try to give the grounds of my opinion, and at the same time to answer the first question.

Though it is, in most cases, easy to determine the age of Latin manuscripts of the eleventh and later centuries from the character of the writing, it is just as difficult in manuscripts of older date, especially for us Netherlanders, who possess so few MSS. belonging to the first half of the middle ages. And those which we do possess are, moreover, wanting in a date that can be relied on, which indeed can but seldom be found in MSS. The character of the writing, too, of diplomatic documents (dated as a rule) differs too widely from that of MSS., to determine by comparison the age of these latter with certainty. Vide: *Note sur trois manuscrits à date certaine*, in the Library of the *Ecole des Chartes*, 29 année, Par., 1868, p. 217, &c.

My opinion that our MS. belongs to the age of the Emperor Charlemagne rests on a comparison of the character of the writing with that of other MSS. (as is believed) of that age, and of which larger or smaller fragments are represented or imitated in different works; the contents of our MS. certainly give no sufficient proof at all for exactly determining its date. If the first possessor known to us, or his son, had not been so incautious as to have the MS. bound, the original form and appearance of the whole document would perhaps have enabled one to throw some light upon it. But this last indication disappeared also with the new brown or red leather binding blazoned with arms of the Cotton family. The bookbinder, in addition, cut the parchment leaves to the same size, and so mutilated some letters which stood by the side of the text a little beyond it, likewise an ornamentation on the margin of the 19th page. Even the signature of Sir Robert Cotton in the right hand upper corner of the old parchment cover was not altogether uninjured by that regular cutting away, and all this was done in order to gild the edges, a kind of decoration surely ill suited to such a MS.

The character of the writing is therefore the only means left for determining the age, and the photograph of the Creed of Athanasius gives every one the opportunity; the whole manuscript, both the psalms and the appended hymns as well as the Creed of Athanasius, &c., is evidently the work of the same hand.

The skins of parchment used for the writing are made up into packets and put together just like sheets of ordinary letter paper. Each packet contains eight leaves, or sixteen pages. The first page of the *old cover which originally must have served as a binding* has in the left-hand lower corner the number 1, and on the second page a large drawing relating to the first Psalm, the text of which begins at the top of the first page of the second leaf with the capital letter B gilt. This first side in the same way has the cover marked 2. The numbering now goes on with each eight leaves or sixteen pages from 3 to 12; the packet following, consisting of only two leaves or four pages, the second and third pages of which contain the Creed, is numbered 13, and the immediately following old outside cover is numbered 14. Sir Robert's binder, by whom it is in the highest degree probable that the pages were numbered, no doubt used them as a measure of precaution that the leaves of the new book might follow each other in the same order as in the old one.

These numbers are in themselves of no importance, but they sufficiently indicate that the MS. reached us entire, and that the required number of parchment skins was reckoned and put together in packets *before the writer began to work*.

It is this regular putting up the leaves of the MS. together which has made me sometimes suspect that our MS. must be only a copy of an earlier one.

I now come to the second question.

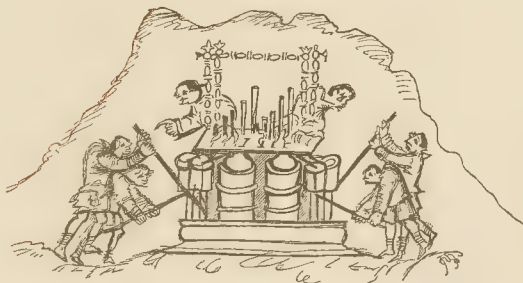
As is well known, the ornamentation or the work of the illuminator did not begin until that of the writer was completed, and it was generally intrusted to other persons skilled in that art. Now the already mentioned uniformity of the writing and parchment proves most certainly that our MS. was written from the beginning to the end *continuously by the same hand*. But then the writer must have left above every Psalm or other portion the room or space required for the drawing or ornamentation, and he must have been able to calculate this room or space when he was writing, for it depended on the greater or less extent or development of the illustration of the subject and of the emblems of the text that followed upon it. And for this it was necessary that the drawings or illustrations must have been already executed when the writer began his work either by themselves or in an earlier MS. which served him as a model.

This may be the explanation why costumes, arms, household furniture and utensils, instruments, &c., are represented which point to an earlier period, and which have given occasion to the MS. being ascribed to an earlier age than that to which it actually belongs. In this view of the case it is worth while observing the drawings of two organs, of which a sketch is annexed, and whose construction probably does not admit of their being assigned so far back as to the sixth century. The larger drawing or illustration is placed above the 150th Psalm, the smaller above the psalm or hymn which has sometimes been ascribed to David, and is called the 151st Psalm. The first is also found in the work "*Les arts du moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance, par Paul Lacroix*," (Bibliophile Jacob), Paris, 1869, p. 200, with the subscription "*Grand orgue à soufflets et à double clavier, douzième siècle (MS. de Cambridge.)*"

Whether all the drawings or illustrations in our MS. are originally by the same hand, I do not venture to decide; I have my doubts about them. Some are either entirely or partially obliterated, others, as it appears to me, subsequently restored, and they are not all executed with equal care.

Utrecht, August 10th, 1872,  
The University Librarian.  
(Signed) P. J. VERMUELEN.

Psalm 150.



Psalm 151.





# INVESTIGATIONS about a certain CODEX PSALMORUM preserved in the UTRECHT LIBRARY.

By an examination of this important volume, written on vellum in small folio, we have to occupy ourselves—

1. With its contents.
2. „ execution.
3. „ age.
4. „ origin.

It contains—

A *Psalterium* or Latin Book of Psalms, not made after the old *Versio Italica*, or Greek translation of the LXX., but after the common translation, the so-called *Vulgata*, by Jerome, about the end of the 4th century, which is evident, among other things, from the omission of the words *a ligno*, which occur, in the first-named translation, after the words *Deus regnavit*, in the 95th (the 96th of our Bible) Psalm (Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, t. II., p. 395. Compare with t. VI. Tabl. Gen.)

These Psalms are followed (as in all the Latin written and printed Psalters destined for Church Service) by the Hymns of Isaia, Moses, Habakkuk, a second of Moses, of the three men in the oven, the *Te Deum*, the Hymns of Zacharias, Maria, Simeon, the Angels at the birth of the Saviour, as also the *Pater noster*, without the *Doxology*, the *Credo*, in which is found the article on the descent into hell, the Creed of Athanasius, here simply called *Fides Catholica*, without mention of this Bishop's name, and, finally, the Psalm of David at the slaying of Goliath, inserted in later Codices as the 151st. All this occupies 91 leaves (folia), each of two pages.

After this *Psalterium* are added—no fragments of the books of Solomo, as Haenel, Catt. Libr. MSS. col. 772, wrongly says, but—some, almost contemporaneous, fragments of the Gospels, after the same translation; namely, the letter of Jerome to Pope Damasus, the end of his second letter, or rather general preface of the four Evangelists (the beginning being wanted), the preface of Matthew, the contents of the chapters of this Evangelist, here divided into such small portions that they reach the number of 88, a drawn title-medallion, in the margin of which are the Greek words: ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΒΟΗΘΗΟΝ ΤΩ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΙ, as an invocation for aid, by the author to the Mother-Virgin, and in the midst of which a list of the Gospels, in the common order, but having the spelling of *Lucan* instead of *Lucam*; the commencement of that of Matthew, until the words *Johannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum*, in the 4th verse of our third chapter, and finally the first chapter of Johannes, until the sentence *et dixit non sum*, in the 22nd verse, altogether occupying 12 leaves of two pages.

As to the execution (workmanship): This is not, as Haenel (Catt. Libr. MSS. l.c.) has said in general, in uncial and semi-uncial letters (*litteris uncialibus et semi-uncialibus*), but, as far as the Psalter is concerned, in rough capitals (*litteris majusculis rusticis*), but with headings and commencing-lines in uncial character, which may be seen, for instance, from the A, E, H, and M, and the tails of the F, P, &c., which descend below the line. V. facs.

And as to the fragments of the Gospels, they are wholly in such Roman uncial characters, of the same form as the headings, &c., of the Psalters, which makes an approaching contemporariness of both the documents probable.

The writing is, in the Psalter, divided into three columns of uneven lines; while the words, divided into kinds of verses, for the most part follow each other without any space between, although here and there they are placed at some distance.

In the fragments of the Gospels every page contains only two columns.

The spelling is, in both the documents, tolerably pure; and the Æ is written separately AE.

The abbreviations of words are not numerous.

The marks of punctuation are, in the Psalter, the *punctum*, and a kind of perpendicular or inverted semicolon (;) ('), serving in many places for a fullstop, in other places for the comma; in the Gospel-fragments almost constantly a kind of comma (,).

The headings of the Psalms are in red uncial letters, and the commencing-lines, after the 17th, in black uncial letters; but until the 17th in gold.

Thus is also the B of Anglo-Saxon form, at the commencement of the first (see facsimile); and thus are also, in the fragments of the Evangelists, the initials of Matthew and Johannes.

Finally, the Psalter is preceded by one, and is ornamented in the text with 165 other, drawings in brown or bistre, which allude to the Psalms where, or, rather, between which, they are placed. Among these, the one pertaining to the 114th, representing the crucifixion of Christ, is remarkable; and, on the whole, they are sound, free, and full of expression; the right proportion of the figures is observed, but the perspective is of little value. All the representations, both in the style of houses, temples, and altars, and in the dresses,

armours, furniture, &c., are evidently derived from the times of the Low Roman Empire, in which not a shadow of the Gothic occurs, but which, in general, have a striking resemblance with the representations in the celebrated Virgil of the Vatican Library, published in 1741;\* as also concerning the buildings, with several diptycha of the Low Empire.†

But the Gospel-fragments have not these ornaments.

As to the probable age, without adopting the suggestion found on one of the fly-leaves, that the Psalter would be as old as the time of the Emperor Valentinian, and, therefore, (also, in case we understand the younger prince of this name) of the end of the 4th century—which is certainly exaggerated, not only on account of the ornamentations with golden letters (*Nouv. Traité de Dipl.*, II. 116.), the Anglo-Saxon form of the B at the beginning of the first Psalm, the different marks of punctuation, and the representations of Christ and the Saints, with a head surrounded by a glory, which was not the custom at that time,‡ but also on account of the contents, as the translation of Jerome hardly existed at that time, or had at least, not become used, and the Te Deum had not yet been introduced into the Church—yet it certainly belongs to the earliest monuments of this kind which have come down to us.

The form of the character, especially the A without a line in the middle, the E and F almost without cross-lines, the G with a kind of comma underneath, are evidences of its antiquity; § the drawings, in which nothing of the Gothic, but plainly the Roman, style is visible, both in the proportion of the figures, the dress and armour, and in the buildings, furniture, &c., prove that it is earlier than the Carolingian times; while, on the other hand, the marks of punctuation, not only the point, but also the semicolon, which began to be used as comma about the seventh century,|| and the appearance of the Anglo-Saxon begin-letter, the introduction of which dates from about the same century,¶ tell us that the Psalter, as well as the fragments of the Gospel, which have also the comma, cannot be much earlier, as earlier MSS. have either no punctuation at all, or only the point; \*\* and everything, therefore, concurs to justify the estimation of Haenel, who places it in the 6th century, as an intermediate epoch (*époque intermédiaire*).

For it is, without additional circumstances, almost always hazardous to fix the age of undated MSS. too punctually, only by the character, &c. A writer living at the end of one century may still have been at work far in a following century, and therefore two consecutive centuries may produce the same writing.

The Psalter, as well as the annexed fragments of the Gospels, which seem to be of about the same time, and, among other evidences, bear the mark of great antiquity by the spelling of *Lucan* for *Lucam*,†† may, therefore, date just as much from the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 7th, as from the 6th century (which are, moreover, difficult to be distinguished one from another);‡‡ but that it belongs approximately to that period is evident from the above-named characteristics, as also from the striking resemblance,—not so much in the writing, which, by its form, &c., seems to be of somewhat later date,§§ but especially in the drawings, the representations of dress, customs, buildings, &c.; in short, in the whole representation—with those of the above-named Vatican Codex of Virgil, which is at present generally considered to be of the 5th century. It is, however, to be presumed that the drawings in this book have, for the most part, been touched up in later time, as many appear to be nearly effaced, and some bear the distinct evidence of such a renovation, which has certainly not increased the value of the MS., because thereby its original character has been lost in this respect.

The large uncial letter of the Gospel fragments has much resemblance with those of a MS. in the Vatican which is considered to belong to the 7th century,||| which again agrees with the above approximation of date; but that of the contents of the chapters of Matthew is of a smaller kind than the rest.

Finally, as regards the former possessors of this MS. (from which the charters mentioned on the fly-leaf seem to have been removed afterwards), the annotation *Claudius A. VII.* in front on the inside of the binding,

\* It is difficult to guess which is the Theodosian Codex, preserved in the Vatican Library, quoted by Haenel, by way of comparison, as among all the celebrated MSS. mentioned by Mabillon, in the *Nouv. Traité de Dipl.*, he does not enumerate such an one as being found there, but in tom. III., p. 76, one, in the Library at Paris, which, however, is considered to be of the 8th century.

† See, for instance, Gori *Thesaurus Diptychorum*, t. III., pl. 22.

‡ Ebert, *Handschriftenkunde* (knowledge of manuscripts), p. 70; Gori *Thes. Diptychorum*, I. 31.

§ *Fragments et Picturae Codicis Virgilii Vaticani* in prefatione, p. 4.

|| Valery, *Voyage en Italie*, I. p. 17.

¶ Casley, *Cat. of the Manuscripts of the King's Library*, Preface, p. vii.

\*\* *E.g.*, the oldest Virgil in the Vatican, of which a facs. appears in the *Fragments et Picturae Codicis Vaticani*, and in Mabillon *De re Dipl.* tab. VI. n. 1.—The Medicean Virgil, in the Library at Florence, published there in 1741 with a representation of its character.—The Rufinus in Cap. Genes. 49 in the Imperial Library at Vienna, a facsim. of which appears in Lambecius *Comment. in Bibl. Cæs. Lib. II.* p. 799, et seq.,—and the Prudentius in the Library at Paris, the facsim. of which appears in the *Nouv. Traité de Dipl.* III. pl. 35, No. 8.

†† *Nouveau Traité de Dipl.* II. 594.

‡‡ *Nouveau Traité de Dipl.* II. 594.

§§ This Codex also has only the punctum, Cf. the facsimile in the above-named works.

|| *Nouveau Traité de Dipl.* III. 156. pl. 42, No. VI.

and the signature of Robert Cotton, on the recto of the first leaf, prove that it came from the library of this celebrated Englishman (which was divided into such classes), and in the same binding in which it is still preserved, as appears from his coat-of-arms, which agrees with that under his portrait, placed in front of the catalogue of his MSS., in which, just by the number Claudius A. VII, the word *deïst*\* is written, while the editor, Smith, complains in his preface bitterly of the missing of so many.

It is difficult to say, although it may be guessed, how it got out of this library, which, after the death of the collector, was presented by one of his heirs to the Crown of England. It probably left this library before 1696, when the catalogue was published, and it was in the Utrecht Library before 1718, in the catalogue of which, published in that year, it is mentioned (Page 455 (155) manuscripts sub litt. P.), and to which it was presented, according to a note on the inside of the binding, evidently of a later period, by a certain Mr. D de Ridder.

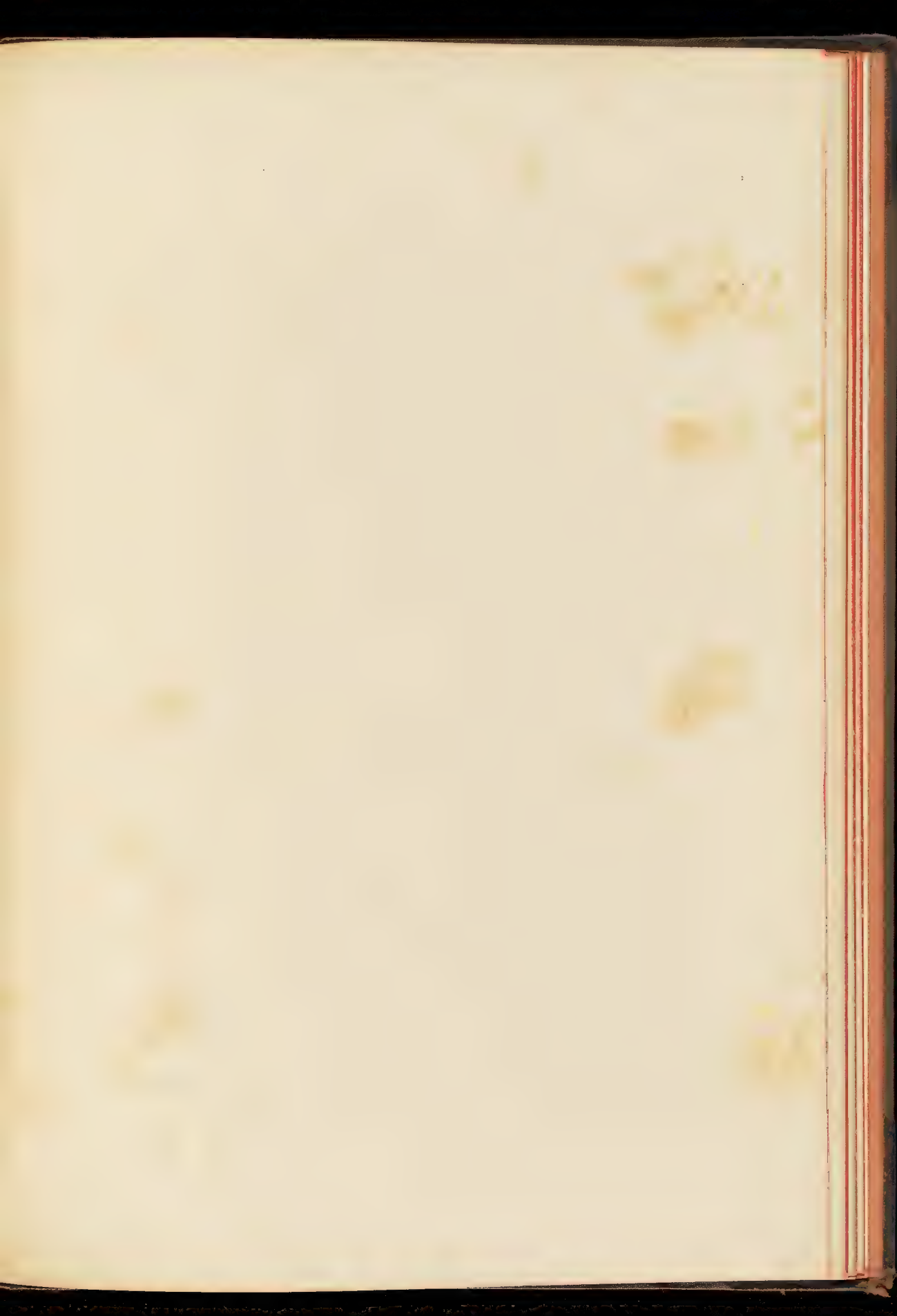
VAN WESTREENEN VAN TIELLANDT.

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\* Page 38.



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For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.  
[7574.—250.—12/72.]



# " FIDES CATHOLICA,"

AS IT OCCURS IN

## THE PSALTER

PRESERVED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF UTRECHT.

The text is given line for line, and the punctuation as in the Manuscript.

The modern separation between the words is given; in the original there is no separation between them. The few words abbreviated in the MS. are given in full.

### INCIPIT FIDES CATHO

#### QUICUNQUE VULT

SALVUS ESSE ANTE OMNIA  
OPUS EST UT TENEAT CATHO  
LICAM FIDEM;

#### QUAM NISI QUIQUE INTE

GRAM INVIOLETAMQUE  
SERVAVERIT ABSQUE DU  
BIO IN AETERNUM PERIBIT:

#### FIDES AUTEM CATHOLICA

HAEC EST UT UNUM DEUM IN  
TRINITATE: ET TRINITA  
TEM IN UNITATE VENERE  
MUR;

#### NEQUE CONFUNDENTES

PERSONAS NEQUE SUBSTAN  
TIAM SEPARANTES;

#### ALIA EST ENIM PERSONA

PATRIS ALIA FILII ALIA  
SPIRITUS SANCTI;

#### SED PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI

### LICAM (*sic*)

UNA EST DIVINITAS AE  
QUALIS GLORIA COAETER  
NA MAJESTAS;

#### QUALIS PATER TALIS FILIUS TALIS ET SPIRITUS SANCTUS

INCREATUS PATER INCRE  
ATUS FILIUS: INCREATUS  
ET SPIRITUS SANCTUS:

INMENSUS PATER INMEN  
SUS FILIUS: INMENSUS  
ET SPIRITUS SANCTUS;

AETERNUS PATER AETER  
NUS FILIUS AETERNUS  
ET SPIRITUS SANCTUS;

ET TAMEN NON TRES AETERNI:  
SED UNUS AETERNUS;

SICUT NON TRES INCREATI  
NEC TRES INMENSI: SED U  
NUS INCREATUS ET UNUS  
INMENSUS;

### SIMILITER OMNIPOTENS

PATER: OMNIPOTENS FI  
LIUS OMNIPOTENS ET SPIRITUS SANCTUS;

ET TAMEN NON TRES OMNI  
POTENTES SED UNUS OMNIPOTENS;

ITA DEUS PATER DEUS FILIUS  
DEUS ET SPIRITUS SANCTUS;

ET TAMEN NON TRES DII:  
SED UNUS EST DEUS;

ITA DOMINUS PATER: DOMINUS FILIUS  
DOMINUS ET SPIRITUS SANCTUS;

ET TAMEN NON TRES DOMINI:  
SED UNUS EST DOMINUS;

QUIA SICUT SINGILLATIM  
UNAMQUAMQUE PERSONAM  
DEUM ET DOMINUM CONFITERI CHRISTIA  
NA VERITATE CONPELLIMUR;

ITA TRES DEOS AUT TRES  
DOMINOS DICERE CATHO  
LICA RELIGIONE PROHIBE

MUR



PATER A Nullo EST FACTUS:  
NEC CREATUS NEC GENITUS  
FILIUS A PATRE SOLO EST:  
NON FACTUS: NEC CREATUS:  
SED GENITUS;

SPIRITUS SANCTUS A PATRE ET FILIO NON  
FACTUS NEC CREATUS NEC GE  
NITUS SED PROCEDENS;

UNUS ERGO PATER NON TRES  
PATRES UNUS FILIUS NON  
TRES FILII UNUS SPIRITUS SANCTUS  
NON TRES SPIRITUS SANCTI;

ET IN HAC TRINITATE NIHIL  
PRIUS AUT POSTERIUS: NI  
HIL MAJUS AUT MINUS;

SED TOTE TRES PERSONAE CO  
AETERNAE SIBI SUNT. ET  
COAEQUALES;

ITA UT PER OMNIA SICUT JAM  
SUPRA DICTUM EST ET TRI  
NITAS IN UNITATE: ET U  
NITAS IN TRINITATE VE  
NERANDA SIT;

QUI VULT ERGO SALVUS  
ESSE: ITA DE TRINITATE  
SENTIAT;

SED NECESSARIUM EST  
AD AETERNAM SALUTEM:  
UT INCARNATIONEM  
QUOQUE DOMINI NOSTRI  
JESU CHRISTI FIDELITER CRE

DAT;

EST ERGO FIDES RECTA UT CRE  
DAMUS ET CONFITEAMUR:  
QUIA DOMINUS NOSTER JESUS CHRISTUS  
DEI FILIUS: DEUS ET HOMO EST;

DEUS EST EX SUBSTANTIA PATRIS  
ANTE SAECULA GENITUS:  
ET HOMO EST EX SUBSTAN  
TIA MATRIS IN SAECULO  
NATUS;

PERFECTUS DEUS PERFECTUS HO  
MO EX ANIMA RATIONALI  
ET HUMANA CARNE SUB  
SISTENS;

AEQUALIS PATRI SECUN  
DUM DIVINITATEM:  
MINOR PATRI SECUNDUM  
HUMANITATEM;

QUI LICET DEUS SIT ET HOMO.  
NON DUO TAMEN SED U  
NUS EST CHRISTUS;

UNUS AUTEM NON CONVER  
SIONE DIVINITATIS IN  
CARNE: SED ASSUMPTIO  
NE HUMANITATIS IN DEO;

UNUS OMNINO NON CON  
FUSIONE SUBSTANTIAE  
SED UNITATE PERSONAE;

NAM SICUT ANIMA RATIO  
NALIS ET CARO UNUS EST HO  
MO. ITA DEUS ET HOMO UNUS

EST CHRISTUS;

QUI PASSUS EST PRO SALUTA  
NOSTRA DESCENDIT AD IN  
FEROS TERTIA DIE RESUR  
REXIT A MORTUIS;

ASCENDIT AD CAELOS SEDIT  
AD DEXTERAM DEI PATRIS  
OMNIPOTENTIS;

INDE VENTURUS JUDICARE  
VIVOS ET MORTUOS;

AD CUJUS ADVENTUM OM  
NES HOMINES RESURGERE  
HABENT CUM CORPORIBUS  
SUIS;

ET REDDITURI SUNT DE FAC  
TIS PROPRIIS RATIONEM

ET QUI BONA EGERUNT  
IBUNT IN VITAM AETERNAM:  
ET QUI MALA IN IGNEM  
AETERNUM;

HAEC EST FIDES CATHOLICA  
QUAM NISI QUISQUE FIDE  
LITER FIRMITER QUE CREDI  
DERIT SALVUS ESSE NON PO  
TERIT;







INCIPIT PROLOGUS CATHOLICUS

QUI CUMQUE VULT  
SALVUS ESSE ANTE OMNIA  
OPUS EST UT INEAT CATHO  
LICAM FIDEM

QUAM NISI QUISQUE INTE  
GRAM IN VIOLATAM QUE  
SERVAVERIT ABSQUE DU  
BIO IN AETERNUM PERIBIT

IDES AUTEM CATHOLICA  
HAEC EST UT NUM DOMIN  
TRINITATE ET TRINITA  
TEM IN UNITATE VENERI  
MUR

QUE CONFUNDENTES  
PERSONAS NEQUE SUBSTAN  
TIAM SEPARANTES

UNA EST INIMPERSONA  
PATRIS ALIA FILII ALIA  
SPIRITUS

SICUT PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS

LICAM

UNA EST DIVINITAS AE  
QUALIS GLORIA COAE  
NAM AESTAS

QUALIS PATER ALIS FILIIS  
TALIS ET SPIRITUS SCS  
INCREATUS PATER INCRE  
ATUS FILIUS INCREATUS  
ET SPIRITUS SCS

INMENSUS PATER INMEN  
SUS FILIUS INMENSUS  
ET SPIRITUS SCS

AETERNUS PATER AETER  
NUS FILIUS AETERNUS  
ET SPIRITUS SCS

ETIAM IN NON TRES AETERNI  
SED UNUS AETERNUS

SICUT NON TRES INCREATI  
NEC TRIS INMENSIS SED QU  
NUS INCREATUS ET UNUS  
INMENSUS

SIMILITER OMNIPOTENS  
PATER OMNIPOTENS FI  
LIUS OMNIPOTENS ET SPIRITUS

ETIAM IN NON TRES OMNI  
POTENTES SED UNUS OMNI  
POTENS PATER DUS FILIUS  
DUS ET SPIRITUS SCS

ETIAM IN NON TRES DII  
SED UNUS EST DUS  
ITADN PATER DUS FILIUS  
DUS ET SPIRITUS SCS

ETIAM IN NON TRES DOMINI  
SED UNUS EST DOMINUS

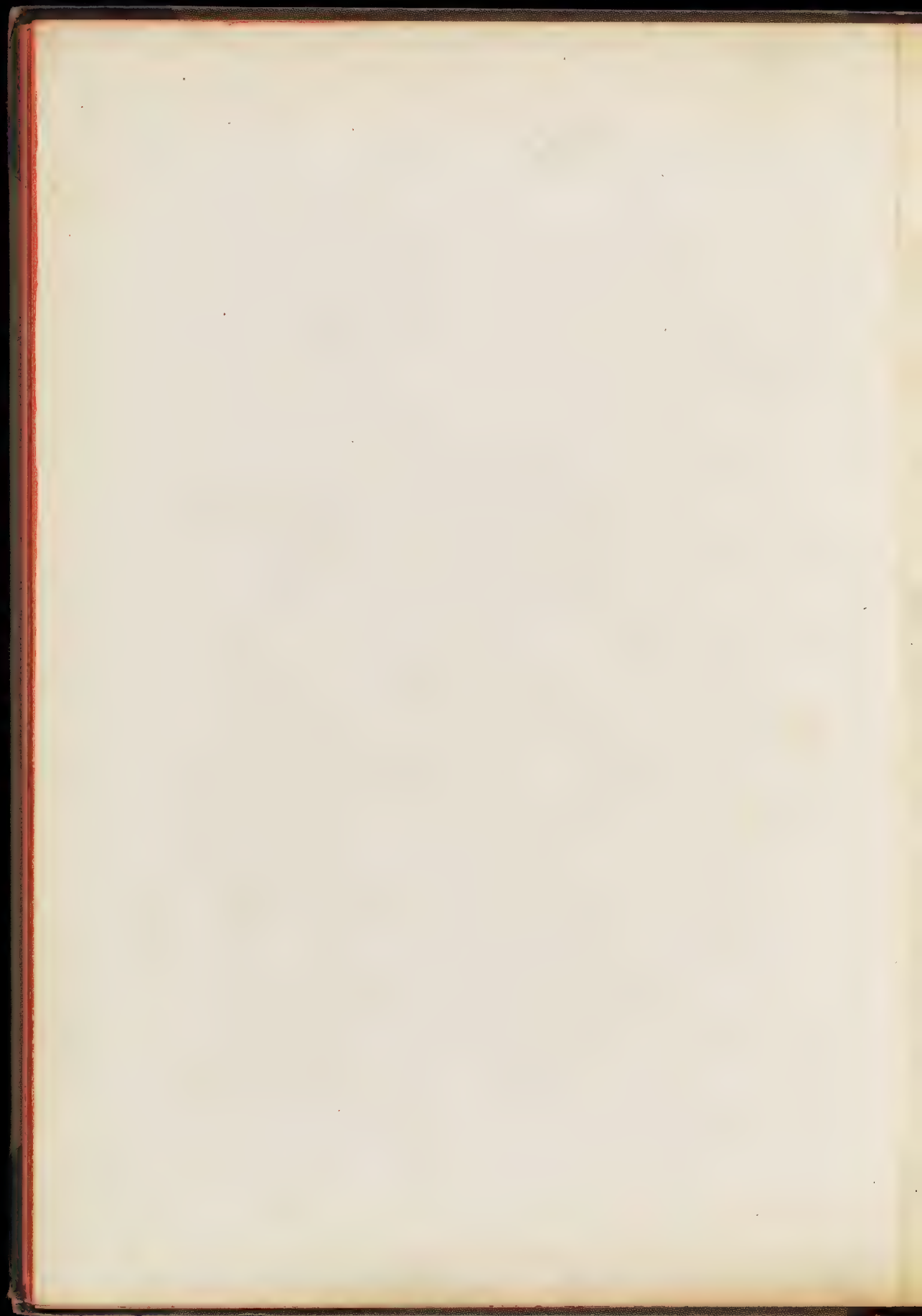
QUIA Sicut IN GILLATI  
NAM QUAMQUE PERSONA  
DOMINI DOMINI CONFITERENTUR  
NAM VERITATE CONFITEMUR

ITATRES DEOS AUT TRIS  
DOMINOS DICERE HATAD  
LICARE LITONIA  
MUR

[illegible]

DAT  
 SIERGO IDES RECTA UT CRE  
 DAMUS ET CONFITEAMUR  
 QUI AD NOSTRUM IN SEXUS  
 DIFFILIUS ET ITHOMOEST;  
 QUESITUS SUBSTANTIA MATRIS  
 ANTI SACCULI GENITUS  
 ITHOMOEST EX SUBSTAN  
 TIA MATRIS IN NATURA  
 NATUS  
 PERFECTUS D'S PERFECTUS HO  
 MINE  
 SISTENS;  
 QUI ET IN PATRE TRINUS  
 ET IN MONITA UNUS  
 HUMANITATIS  
 CIVILITATIS ITHOMO  
 CONDUOLANUS ITHO  
 MONEST  
 CIRCUMSTANTIAE CONNIT  
 TIONI DIVINITATIS IN  
 CARNE SED AD SUMPTIO  
 NI HUMANITATIS IN DO  
 CUMUS OMNINO NON CON  
 FUSIONIS SUBSTANTIAE  
 SIVE UNITATIS PERSONAE  
 NALIS SIVE ANIMALI RATIO  
 NALIS SIVE ANIMALI RATIO  
 NALIS SIVE ANIMALI RATIO

[illegible]







**N**UNC DIGNI  
SIRVITUUM DNI  
SECUNDUM VERBUM TU  
UM IN PACE

LAUDABUNT OCULI MEI  
SALUTARIUM  
QUOD PARASTI ANTE  
FACIEM OMNIUM POTU

LORUM  
LUMEN AD REVELATIONE  
CENTIUM ET GLORIAM  
DEBISTU ISRAEL

**G**LORIA IN EXCEL  
SIS DNE IN TERRA PAX  
HOMINIBUS BONAE VO  
LUNTATIS

**I** LAUDAMUS TE;  
**B**ENEDICIMUS TE  
**A**DORAMUS TE;

**C**LORIFICAMUS TE;  
**G**RATIAS AGIMUS TIBI  
PROPTER MAGNAM GLO  
RIAM TUAM

**O** NE DEXTERA CAELESTIS  
**O** SPATER OMNIPOTENS;  
**O** NE FILIUM UNIGENITAE

**I** HUXTE  
**O** NE D SAGNUS FILIUS PA  
TRIS QUI TOLLIS PECCATA  
MUNDI MISERERE NOBIS  
QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUN  
DUM SUSCIPE DEPRECATIONE  
NOSTRAM

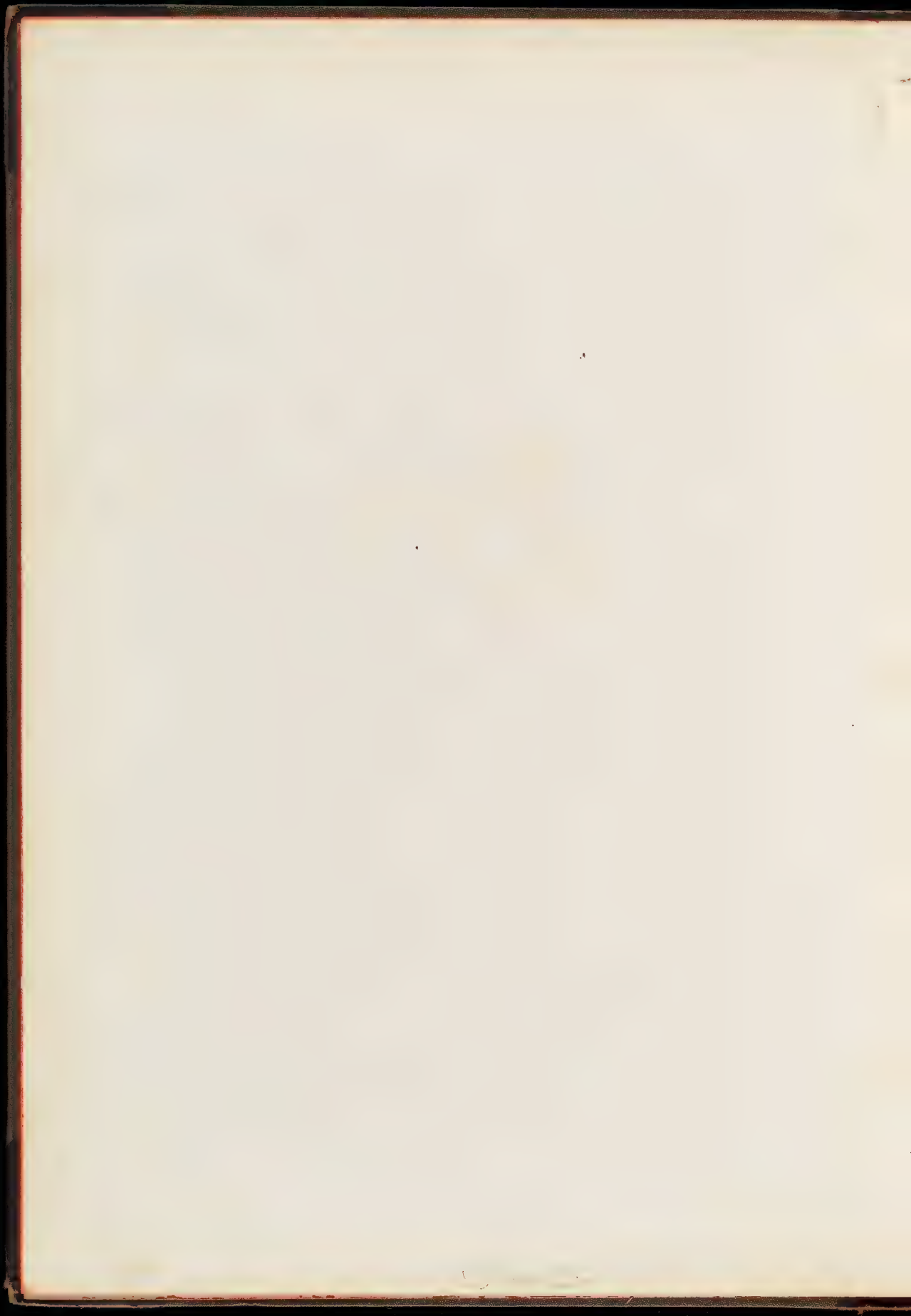
1. *Staph. pallidus*  
 2. *Staph. pallidus*

SICUT ET NOS DIMITTI  
MUS DEBITORIBUS NOS  
TRIS. ET IN NOS IN DU  
CAS IN TEMPTATIONEM  
SIC LIBERANOS A MALO

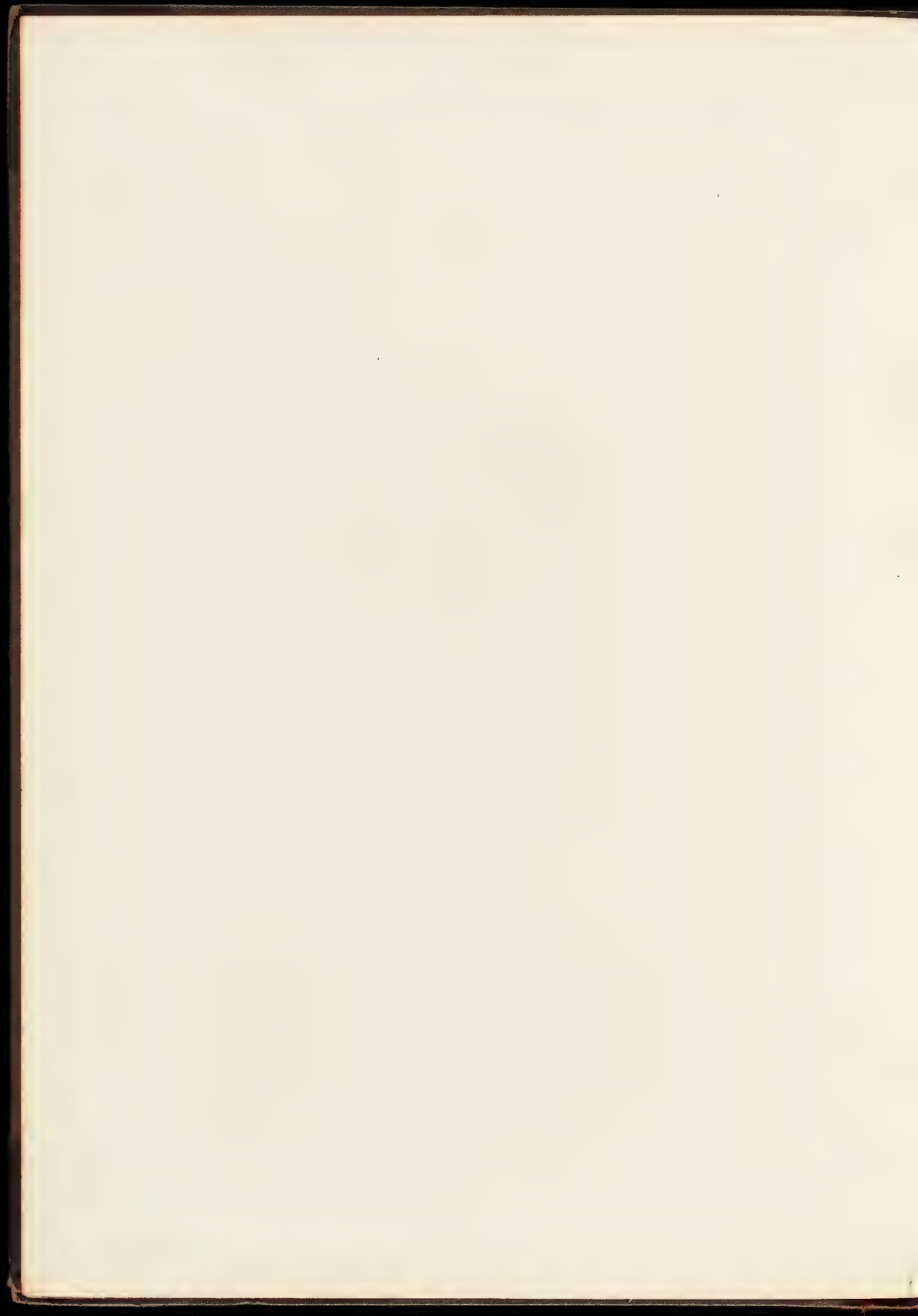
TRIS OMNIPOTENTIS IN  
DEVENTURUS IUDICARE  
VIVOS ET MORTUOS;  
CREDO ET IN SP. S. COMM. SCAM  
ECCLESIAM CATHOLICAM  
SCORUM COMMUNIO  
NEM REMISSIONEM

RE DO MI N O S P A  
T R E M O M N I P O T E N T E M  
C R E A T O R I C A E L I E T T E R R A E  
E T I N I H M X T M E I L I U M I U S  
U N I C U M D N I M M O S T R U  
I U I C O N C E P T U S E S T D E S P U  
S C O N A T U S E X M A R I A V I R





**D**EATUS QUI  
QUI NON  
ABIT  
INCONSILII  
O IMPIORUM  
ET INVIATIC  
CATORUM NON STITIT  
ET IN CATHIDRA PISTE  
LITIA NON SIDI  
**S**ED IN LEGE DOMINI VOLUN  
TAS EIVS ET IN LEGE EIVS  
MEDITABITUR DIE



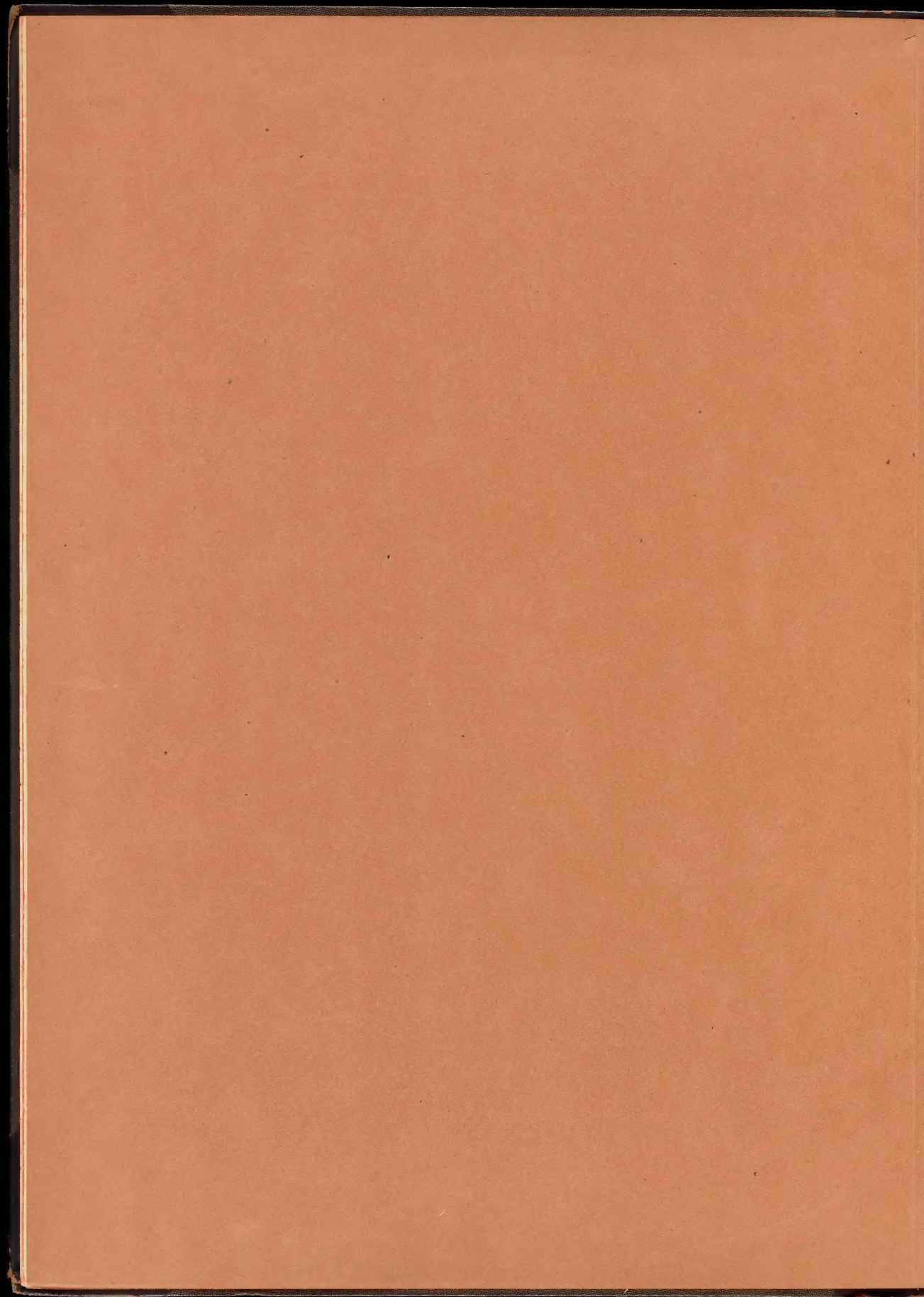














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